JOHNSON CITY TN
THE SHEPROD LIBR
PERIODICALS LIBR
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
TN S L
U18AUG31851 60
3DG
437614

The Nation.

May 26, 1984 $1.25; U.K. 65p

ETSU LIBRARY
3

EDITORIAL

DEBATEGATE SLOW DANCE

On May 14 a Federal District Court judge gave the Administration an unequivocal instruction: Clear the stables of the Justice Department, come clean about the theft of President Carter's campaign papers and appoint a special prosecutor. The reaction of Attorney General William French Smith suggests that his ethical threshold is no higher than that of the man put forth to replace him. Smith appealed for a stay, evidently hoping to postpone the reckoning beyond this fall's elections. Then, even if half the President's advisers and Cabinet officials are found to be felons, a second-term Reagan can pardon the lot of them.

It has become plain that the Justice Department's "investigation" of Debategate was a cover-up. Nothing was made of the conflicting statements from senior Cabinet figures. No subpoenas were issued. For once in Ronald Reagan's Washington, the polygraph machines were left unplugged. At stake here is the Ethics in Government Act, which provides for appointment of an independent counsel to investigate cases precisely like this one. In Judge Harold Greene's words, Congress did not intend that the Attorney General be "the 'gatekeeper' of that machinery, able without the slightest review by anyone to open the gate or slam it shut as may suit his purpose."

The excellence of Judge Greene's opinion on the case should not obscure the message of his first ruling [see Christopher Hitchens, "Minority Report," *The Nation*, March 24]. He pointed out then that members of the 1980 Reagan campaign had used C.I.A. and F.B.I. personnel as private dicks, had approached civil servants to act in a private capacity and had boasted of "filching" the property of a President. It will be intolerable if this matter is not debated and resolved in public before the same team nominates itself for a second term.

WHO KILLED AQUINO?
Kai Bird
Max Holland

FEAR OF FRYING
Lewis M. Steel

LETTERS FROM POLAND
Jan Jozef Lipski
Witold Jedlicki

A COLD WAR PROXYLAND
Fred Halliday

BRINGING BACK BABY
Linda Gordon

BETTER READ THAN ED
Doug Ireland

CAPITALISM UNLEASHED

THE RISE OF LOGO AMERICA

ALAN WOLFE

A year ago the nation's banks, unable to convince Americans to accept variable mortgages at exorbitant rates, developed a brilliant marketing ploy. They reduced the interest rate in the first year to 8 percent (it went down to 4 percent in Houston, where there is a housing surplus). What the banks did not publicize, however, was another feature of many of the mortgage plans: if the payments at the lower interest rate failed to cover the loan's true cost, the principal would be expanded to make up the difference. The strategy worked. Housing sales boomed in 1983, despite the fact that real interest rates rose to record-high levels.

This spring, the story is different. Those folks who were paying low rates have had them adjusted to what the market will bear. Some people are protected by a "cap," which holds their liability to an interest-rate increase of 2 percent per year or 5 percent over the course of the loan. But many of the less wary have no protection. Their monthly payments can jump by 50 percent a year or higher, depending on inflation. Since salaries cannot be expected to rise much, if at all, many of those people will simply be unable to afford their new houses. What will become of them? Who knows. America has embarked on a vast experiment in uncertainty, of which variable-rate mortgages are just one example, and no one can guess what will happen as a result.

Risk is much admired these days. Both neoconservative and neoliberal writers complain that we have things too easy. America, they tell us, has lost its competitive edge; it suffers from

(*Continued on Page 640*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

THE 'KOREMATSU' FOOTNOTE

San Diego

I am glad that Randall Kennedy found "many virtues" in *Justice at War*, my book about the Japanese-American internment cases ["Rounding Up the Usual Suspects," *The Nation*, April 21]. Having one's book placed on the same shelf with those by Anthony Lewis and Richard Kluger is an accolade any legal historian would welcome. Despite that satisfaction, however, I feel compelled to respond to Kennedy's complaint that "exaggerated claims" and a "taste for sensationalism" flaw an otherwise "absorbing" book.

Kennedy suggests that my documentation of the government's deliberate withholding of "certain evidence" from the Supreme Court led me to conclude that the Court "reached an unjust decision simply because the government withheld vital information." Those who have read only Kennedy's review and not my book will understandably be in the dark, since he gives no hint of the substance of this crucial evidence, or of its significance to the Court's opinions in the internment cases.

The Court based its opinion in *Korematsu* on the "finding" of Lieut. Gen. John L. DeWitt, director of the internment program, that Japanese-Americans posed a danger of espionage on the West Coast. DeWitt had charged the members of this racial minority with specific acts of espionage in an official report, submitted to the Court by the Justice Department. Using the Freedom of Information Act, I gained access to records that were provided to government lawyers by the F.B.I. and other intelligence agencies, reporting that DeWitt's charges were unfounded and that his report was replete with "lies" and "intentional falsehoods."

Edward Ennis and John Burling, the Justice Department lawyers who were responsible for the Supreme Court brief, argued to their superiors that the government had an "ethical obligation" to inform the Court of the falsity of DeWitt's charges. As Kennedy noted, although without reference to the crucial intelligence reports, Ennis and Burling added a footnote to the *Korematsu* brief designed to alert the Court to the existence of these reports. Unfortunately, their effort was blocked by John J. McCloy, then the Assistant Secretary of War and now a paladin of the Wall Street bar. McCloy persuaded the Solicitor General to pull the brief from the printing press and to substitute a watered-down footnote that made no mention of the "contrariety of evidence" on the espionage charges.

Given this fuller context, what is the correct answer to Kennedy's rhetorical question, "How important was that footnote?" The question implies that I turned a molehill into a mountain in a quest for "good advertising copy" and a Watergate-type scandal. Rather than answer Kennedy myself, I refer readers to the opinion of Marilyn Hall Patel, the Federal District Judge who recently vacated the 1942 criminal conviction of Fred Korematsu on the basis of governmental misconduct in the case. In a written decision issued April 19, Judge Patel held that the government "knowingly withheld information from the courts," and quoted at length from the Justice Department records that refuted General DeWitt's espionage charges. (I should mention that I am one of the lawyers who served as Korematsu's counsel in his effort to obtain a vacation of his conviction, a fact that I state clearly in the book.)

After a thorough discussion of DeWitt's report and the footnote controversy, Judge Patel found that "omitted from the government's representations was any reference to contrary reports which were considered reliable by the Justice Department and military officials other than General DeWitt." Her decision to vacate Korematsu's conviction left no doubt about the significance of the intelligence reports that were withheld from the Supreme Court. "These omissions are critical," she wrote. Going beyond the impact of this suppressed evidence on the Court's original opinion, Judge Patel did not shrink from the ultimate issue: "The judicial process is seriously impaired when the government's law enforcement officers violate their ethical obligations to the Court."

Judge Patel's opinion, based on the full record in the *Korematsu* case, certainly provides support for my suggestion, which Kennedy seems to dismiss, that the Supreme Court in 1944 might have voted to reverse Korematsu's conviction had the government lawyers followed their ethical obligations and informed the Court of the suppressed evidence. It seems likely to me that at least two members of the Court who privately expressed doubts but who reluctantly joined the majority, William Douglas and Wiley Rutledge, might well have switched their votes and struck down the internment orders.

The government has filed a notice of appeal from Judge Patel's decision and has until May 29 to decide whether to submit an appellate brief to the Court of Appeals in San Francisco. Its next move will be as much political as legal and will provide a crucial test of the Reagan Administration's position on this historic injustice. *Peter Irons*

KENNEDY REPLIES

Washington

Peter Irons has added an important dimension to our knowledge of the internment cases by revealing that Justice Department attorneys knew the military reports used to justify internment were false and that some of those attorneys, Edward Ennis in particular, attempted to inform the Supreme Court of it. That revelation, however, is more cumulative than transformative: it shows that the government's action was even more perfidious than was previously known. It should not have the effect of changing our evaluation of the Supreme Court's legitimization of the military's program. The Court's performance was dismal regardless of the fact that the Solicitor General withheld evidence that would have further undermined the government's claim of military necessity. The military report on which the Court ostensibly relied was transparently false and obviously racist. The six Justices who nonetheless swallowed it would not have gagged on a mere footnote that, in its strongest version, simply stated that the Solicitor General would not ask the Court to take judicial notice of the report because of a "contrariety" of information with respect to certain of the military's allegations. Had the footnote appeared in the Solicitor General's brief, the likely result would have been a commendation from the Court for his candidness and an explanation that despite the conflicting evidence, the Court would defer to the Army's expertise in military matters, especially in wartime.

I share Irons's admiration for Judge Patel's recent decision in favor of Korematsu's petition for a writ of *coram nobis*. I note, however, that Irons appears to have overlooked the fact that twice in her opinion, Judge Patel observes that she could not determine whether a fuller, more accurate record—one that contained the information Irons has so studiously unearthed—would have prompted the courts forty-two years ago to reach conclusions different from the ones that public consensus now condemns. The courts that failed Korematsu lacked more than a full record. They lacked a full commitment to constitutional principle.

Randall Kennedy

CHECK THESE FACTS

Lansing, Mich.

I appreciate *The Nation*'s coverage of developing countries, particularly the analysis of their economic circumstances. In this vein, Peter Tarr's March 24 article, "The Economic Threat to Marcos," was exemplary. Here is reportage that looks beyond ideology to economic foundations. If we are to change the world, these are the facts we need to know. *David D. Rohrbach*

The Nation welcomes letters—typed, double spaced and no longer than 300 words, please. Longer letters may be edited for reasons of space. Our policy is to publish as many letters as space permits, but inevitably a backlog develops, so please bear with us.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 238, Number 20

LETTERS
626

EDITORIALS
625 Debategate Slow Dance
627 Cowed Donkeys
628 Fear of Frying — *Lewis M. Steel*

COLUMNS
630 Beat the Devil — *Alexander Cockburn*
632 Dispatches — *Kai Bird and Max Holland*

ARTICLES
625 Capitalism Unleashed: The Rise of Logo America — *Alan Wolfe*
634 Letters From Lipski: Trials of a Polish Resister — *Jan Jozef Lipski and Witold Jedlicki*
638 South Yemen: Proxyland for Cold Warriors — *Fred Halliday*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
645 Greer: Sex and Destiny: The Politics of Human Fertility — *Linda Gordon*
646 Pale Sun (poem) — *May Swenson*
647 Koch: Mayor: An Autobiography; Cuomo: Diaries of Mario M. Cuomo: The Campaign for Governor — *Doug Ireland*
648 October (poem) — *Donald Justice*
650 Theater — *Paul Berman*
652 Dance — *Mindy Aloff*

Drawings by Bill Logan

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Zachary Sklar; *Associate Editor,* Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Eric Etheridge; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Maria Margaronis; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Anthony Borden, Judith Long, Art Winslow; *Carey McWilliams Fellow,* Jane Oski; *Interns,* David Bank, Phyllis Burns, Karen FitzGerald, Richard Greenberg, Chris Ladd, Douglas Lavin. *On leave,* Kai Bird, Richard Lingeman, Katha Pollitt.

Departments: Dance, Mindy Aloff; *Films,* Robert Hatch; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* David Hamilton; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Dispatches*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Manager,* Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Manager,* Stephen W. Soule; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Classified Advertising Manager,* George Monaco; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* Sharleen Leahey, Mark Rausher; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1984 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Regular Subscription Price: One year, $40; two years, $72; six months, $20. Add $7 per year postage Canada, Mexico; $13 per year other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days, foreign) of publication date; back issues available $3 prepaid ($4 foreign). **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

EDITORIALS.

Cowed Donkeys

Congressional approval of the Administration's $178.9 million military aid package for El Salvador means, first of all, that the rebel F.M.L.N./F.D.R. forces will soon be getting a much-needed infusion of matériel. Most of the guerrillas' supplies come from captured government caches; of late, the evil empire has been shy about sending shipments along those mysterious routes President Reagan insists are open from Moscow via Cuba and Nicaragua. As in China in the 1940s, Cuba in the 1950s and Vietnam in the 1960s, the wherewithal of revolution in El Salvador is found in the dying *ancien régime.*

The second meaning of the key vote is that the Democratic Party has chosen to remain in Reagan's coalition on intervention. It's true that there was considerable opposition to that decision: the vote in the House on May 10 was a surprisingly close 212 to 208. But even the Democrats who voted against the aid package failed to make their case with conviction. By confining their objections to concerns about human rights abuses in El Salvador, they allowed Reagan's intervention in Central America to become just another issue rather than the crucial test that the President and Congress must stand or fall on in November. That timidity thinned their ranks and won the day for Reagan's policies.

The arguments of the Democrats who collaborated with the President had nothing to do with the merits of inter-

PERIODICALS DEPARTMENT
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Johnson City, Tennessee 37614
MAY 25 1984

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vention or the thrill of anticommunist adventure. Unlike Reagan, who genuinely seems to believe the elaborate, paranoid fantasies about Bolshevism he spun in his television speech of May 9, the Democrats voted out of old-fashioned political cowardice. Fearing that they might be blamed if the left wins in El Salvador, they moved to protect their right flank by supporting the failed policies of their opponents.

It must have been difficult for the realists of both parties (a short list, at best) to suspend their disbelief in the efficacy of aid to the Salvadoran regime. The $1 billion that the United States has thrown at El Salvador since 1980 has been, if anything, counterproductive to Washington's objectives.

Smaller amounts paid to the Nicaraguan *contras* to plunder, pillage, torture and murder have been no more successful in working Washington's will. No less an anticommunist ideologue than Abraham Brumberg, former editor of the journal *Problems of Communism*, wrote recently in *The Washington Post* that United States policy in Nicaragua "is not only morally repugnant but patently ineffective." After a visit to that beleaguered country, Brumberg reported that "the *contras* we support have not won a single victory. But their mere existence as instruments of American policy has strengthened the domestic prestige of the Sandinista government they are trying to overthrow."

The danger is not that the counterrevolutionary strategies may succeed but that they will most likely fail. At that point, American politicians who have made considerable investments in those programs will be tempted to up their antes rather than withdraw. Intervention is addictive, for the suppliers no less than the receivers. When the present fix wears off, the junkies in the White House and in Congress will want a bigger hit with a better high.

Thus far, although Jesse Jackson has brought what neoconservative guru Irving Kristol anxiously calls "a Third World perspective" to American politics, and although Gary Hart has promised to end U.S. military involvement in Central America, none of the Democratic Presidential aspirants—least of all, Walter Mondale—have made Reagan's indefensible aggression the litmus test of the 1984 campaign. That is a major error of both strategy and vision.

Americans who see the dangers and fear the worst have limited power to effect a change in course. What can be done, however, is to create a visible and vocal alternative position which challenges the assumptions of the Republican and Democratic interventionists. Such a stance can make room for dissent, set new terms of opposition and raise the threat of widespread social disaffection.

The pressing question about Central America is not, What is the best way to defeat the movements for social and political change? That is the stuff of Republican and mainstream Democratic disagreement. Rather, the question is, What is the best way to achieve independence and self-determination for the people of the region?

Speaking recently at the National Press Club, Barbara Tuchman remarked:

> A time has come in history . . . when the United States cannot continue invariably taking sides with the reactionaries and oppressors. How refreshing it would be to wake up one morning and find ourselves just once on the progressive side! To reach that point we must stop shaping policy to fit into a prearranged geopolitical framework fashioned by the Committee on the Present Danger and Henry Kissinger. We must begin to look at situations and people in their terms, in terms of the indigenous problems and local conditions. . . . It would be better to leave these people to settle their own affairs than always to intervene and invest in the wrong and losing side.

* * *

While members of Congress squabbled over how much aid should be forked over to the government of El Salvador and whether strings should be attached, there was little discord among panelists at a forum on El Salvador's post-election situation, held May 15 in New York City under the auspices of *The Nation*, the North American Congress on Latin America and the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Former U.S. Ambassador Robert White, physician-activist Charlie Clements and journalists Anne Nelson and Allan Nairn agreed President-elect José Napoleón Duarte is powerless to reconcile the ruthless repressive power of the Salvadoran military, the greedy demands of the oligarchy, the domination of the U.S. imperium and the strength of the revolutionary movement.

Panelist Arnoldo Ramos, who represents the F.M.L.N./F.D.R. in the United States, put it starkly: "The road to El Salvador has narrowed. [There can be] either negotiations . . . or a direct United States military invasion leading El Salvador and the rest of the region to a generalized military conflict." The tragedy of politics in this country is that leaders of both parties do not see the inevitability of that choice.

Fear of Frying

The greenhouse effect, a heating up of the earth mostly as a result of the burning of fossil fuels, may create worldwide disaster. While most environmental problems do not necessarily have the potential to destroy civilizations, and appear to be controllable if political processes work fast enough, this threat is different. The Environmental Protection Agency says that the greenhouse effect—which occurs because a byproduct of combustion, carbon dioxide, allows the sun's rays to penetrate the earth's atmosphere but prevents infrared radiation from escaping it—is just beginning in earnest. And it can't be stopped, or even slowed, without the most drastic measures.

The recent E.P.A. report "Can We Delay a Greenhouse Warming?" suggests that the phenomenon could raise temperatures worldwide by 2 degrees centigrade (3.6 degrees Fahrenheit) by the year 2040 and 5 degrees centigrade (9 degrees Fahrenheit) by 2100. "Two degrees," the E.P.A. notes, "is significant in comparison with temperature changes that produced ice ages." Before the end of the next century, sea levels could rise from two to twelve feet. "All human activities are likely to be in some way affected," the E.P.A. report continues.

The E.P.A. is extraordinarily pessimistic about the situa-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion. Even if the world stopped burning coal by the year 2000, the report says, that would only slow the process, not solve the problem. The use of other fossil fuels will continue to create carbon dioxide, which will cause the earth to heat up.

I am not an expert. I don't know whether the E.P.A. projections are correct, or which people and countries might bear the brunt of the predicted heat-up, or whether there are any remedies. I do know I'm worried. It looks like industrialization is finally catching up with us, perhaps irreparably.

If the greenhouse effect is that serious, why are we doing so little about it? Progressives and environmentalists have raised a cry over acid rain and have put forth various solutions. They have attacked nuclear power and demanded the control of many forms of pollution. Assuming the E.P.A.'s projections are reasonably accurate, and so far even the coal industry has not issued any don't-worry reports, environmental and progressive forces should be spreading the alarm and putting forth proposals to meet the threat. But so far, they are as silent as those of more laissez-faire persuasions.

The silence may result from the massiveness of the problem. Regional and even national approaches would be inadequate. Fossil fuel consumption is the key to the economies of all industrialized nations, and it will grow as Third World countries increase their productive capacities.

Moreover, progressives in this country continue to look to coal-fueled industrial production to revitalize depressed regions. A recent *Nation* article [Bruce Schmiechen, Lawrence Daressa and Larry Adelman, "Waking From the American Dream," March 3] suggested that "100 billion tons of known coal reserves" as well as a skilled labor force and unused plant capacity could be tapped to save the Pittsburgh area's crumbling economy. Responding to plant closings and unemployment, progressives there advocate locally accountable and democratically run regional planning authorities. Perhaps progressives would make their plants as pollution-free as possible, but coal consumption is coal consumption no matter who controls the plants. Although anti-pollution devices may help reduce acid rain, emissions of massive amounts of carbon dioxide would still contribute to the greenhouse effect.

So what can we do? In an industrialized country seeking to maintain its primacy in an increasingly industrialized world, few are willing to advocate any approach that might limit America's growth. Most organizations across the political spectrum push programs that would bring about even more industrialization. Apparently everyone is hoping for a technological fix or is simply unwilling to face the fast-approaching future.

Neither America's private sector nor its political representatives will deal with the greenhouse effect until it is upon us. If one area of the world heats up a little too much for comfort or is flooded, corporations can move to more suitable locations and use their economic muscle and military friends to maintain themselves. Most people, however, don't have that option. Now is the time to begin asking the hard questions: Is the greenhouse effect the threat it appears to be? If so, what, realistically, should progressives be doing in response? Can someone reply?

LEWIS M. STEEL

Lewis M. Steel is the president of the New York City chapter of the National Lawyers Guild and an occasional contributor to The Nation.

FOLLOW-UP

A month ago *The Nation* reported on the final testing of the F.B.I.'s Interstate Identification Index [Diana R. Gordon and Mae Churchill, "'Triple I' Will Be Tracking Us," April 28], a computerized system for retrieval and exchange of criminal histories based largely on arrests. Since then the Bureau has announced it will commission an eighteen-month study of its National Crime Information Center (N.C.I.C.), which operates the index and serves law enforcement agencies by maintaining files on such things as stolen cars and outstanding warrants. According to F.B.I. spokesman Kier Boyd, the study will "look at the social and privacy impacts of the N.C.I.C.," as well as analyze technical needs. It will not impede the implementation of Triple I, however; by the end of 1984, six states are expected to join the fourteen currently participating.

That the F.B.I. is concerning itself with "social and privacy impacts" is news indeed. In 1970, three years after the N.C.I.C. was created, Robert R.J. Gallati, then head of the New York State Identification and Intelligence System, drew up stringent security and privacy safeguards for the computerized criminal history files, but the F.B.I. rejected them. The Federal regulations adopted in 1976 are full of holes and have no effective sanctions. To date, standards for collection and dissemination of arrest records vary widely among states.

The F.B.I.'s announcement of the study is significant partly for its implied acknowledgment of flaws in the N.C.I.C. system. The contemplated step of making Triple I available for employment and licensing checks is inevitable as long as oversight for N.C.I.C. rests more with the system's client states, which increasingly allow criminal history records to be used for non-law-enforcement purposes, than with Congress. And no way has yet been found to guarantee that N.C.I.C. will disseminate complete records—that is, arrests accompanied by disposition data—since the system must rely on information from approximately 64,000 criminal justice agencies.

Perhaps now that the F.B.I. plans to review its operation, Congress will address an issue it has long ignored. The potential for creating the most gigantic blacklist in history is upon us. Law enforcement has become too important to leave to the law enforcers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEAT THE DEVIL.

Look, No Hands!

I will never be evenhanded. Such has been my creed since first I made the pledge to my mother and the kilted Scottish doctor who had taken an hour from his Sunday fishing to help me into this sad world. But a reader caught my hand trying to balance the scales of justice recently and rightly took me to task:

> I think your comparing *The New York Times* to the K.G.B. is a pretty pissy insult to the K.G.B. The latter organization, if you will recall, supports the Nicaraguan revolution, the El Salvador revolution, Allende's Chile, Angola, etc., and *The New York Times* opposes them. *The Times* wants to make the world safe for capitalism, and the K.G.B. wants to make it unsafe for capitalism. Next thing we know, you'll be comparing Yuri Andropov to Abe Rosenthal—which is like comparing a conscientious, dedicated, politically literate socialist leader to a scumbag.

I promise to try to mend my ways. Now let's look at some quasi evenhandedness of a particularly odious sort. "The tragedy," writes Columbia history professor Istvan Deak in the May 31 *New York Review of Books*, "is that in their fierce competition the Soviet Union and, to a lesser extent, the United States tend to encourage the world's fanatics. The Soviet leadership supports undemocratic movements everywhere as a matter of routine; the United States tends to do this when centrist governments fail in the face of attacks from rightist or leftist radicals."

I know *The New York Review* has shifted to the right over the years, but here we find it cheek to cheek with Midge Decter and Jeane Kirkpatrick. "To a lesser extent" the United States, eh? The United States currently "encourages," among others, the governments of Guatemala, South Africa, Paraguay and Indonesia, as well as the claims of Pol Pot on Kampuchea. I imagine that the worst Professor Deak could come up with for the Soviet Union would be Qaddafi, who has dispatched fewer mortals from this planet in his entire life than did the Lebanese Phalange and Israel (the former a fanatic faction and the other a nation led by a fanatic faction, both encouraged by the United States) in one month in the late summer of 1982.

Guilty Parties

Deak was addressing himself to the question, "How guilty were the Germans?" For the horrors of Nazism, that is. It's odd to find a man seemingly so blind to the present realities of world politics giving an equable lecture on the moral responsibility of Germans. As the torturers presided over by El Salvador's "centrist" President-elect Duarte and trained by the United States pop the eyeballs out of their victims with spoons, you'd think Deak would at least betray some sense of the perils of moral lecturing. Not so far, I'm afraid, though I scan the evening news shows eagerly to see whether he has chained himself to the White House railings as a gesture of moral revulsion to Reaganism.

On the matter of German guilt, the excellent Diana Johnstone had a piece in the April 18-24 issue of *In These Times* (which has itself been in good form lately) on a conference organized by the Greens in Baden-Württemberg on "German policy"—another way of stating the great repressed item on the European political agenda, German reunification. Circulating at the conference, Johnstone reported, was an article by Peter Rubeau and Wolfgang Westerman from the February issue of *Psychologie Heute*, in which the two argue that economic and power interests alone cannot explain behavior as irrational as that of Germans agreeing to station on their own soil nuclear weapons which could engender their annihilation.

Johnstone gives this account of their views:

> The German generation responsible for the horrendous crimes of Nazism, spared by the Americans, became fully dependent and bound by gratitude—and by fear of the incriminating evidence against them in American files. The guilty were not punished. Even men like Klaus Barbie were protected.
>
> Identification with the victors made possible "the splitting off of one's own guilt and its eventual *projection* onto the enemy image, made legitimate by the Americans, of the communist Russians. . . . Now it was a national duty to project everything evil and guilty onto the Russians."
>
> This made it impossible for the guilty generation to see any difference between German and American interests, or to grasp what it meant "that our 'friend' all this time has not made a peace treaty with us, but keeps us living in a state of truce." Remorse has been blocked, leaving an unfulfilled need for punishment and authentic atonement. . . . this explains why Bonn politicians *asked* the Americans to station nuclear missiles in Germany.

On the other side, the two suggest that subconscious revenge fantasies and hatred for the Germans may lead Americans to adopt policies that could avenge the victims of Nazism by causing a nuclear holocaust, exterminating the Germans, just as the Germans tried to exterminate the Jews. "They note that the inventor of the neutron bomb, Samuel Cohen, has said plainly that it was designed for Germany," writes Johnstone. (This last point isn't true. Asked what his invention was good for, Cohen scratched his head and said it might be useful in the Third World. No one seized on that so Cohen thought some more and settled on the notion that his bomb would do well against Soviet tanks.)

To complete the circle, in the issue of *The New York Review* in which the Deak piece appears, there is an article by Helmut Schmidt, the man who asked for the Pershings, titled "Saving the Western Alliance."

Labors of Love

I spring to defend an injured friend from the attacks of *The Wall Street Journal*'s Jonathan Kwitny, whose book *Endless Enemies* I mentioned favorably here a couple weeks ago. Kwitny's book is mostly splendid stuff, but I think he is unfair to Kennett Love, implying that when Love was a correspondent for *The New York Times* in the 1950s he worked for the C.I.A.

This is not the first time the supposed C.I.A.-Love con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

nection has been invoked. In 1977, in a *Times* series on C.I.A.-journalist ties, a high-level C.I.A. official stated that Love had done some errands for the agency. Love recalls, "I denied it, but the denial did not look convincing and there was a pompous, shit-ass quote from A.M. Rosenthal saying *The New York Times* had no way of knowing or not knowing what Mr. Love had done twenty years ago. It would have been correct to say, 'We have no reason to believe Mr. Love worked for the C.I.A.'"

In September 1980, *Counterspy* magazine held a press conference naming Love as a C.I.A. agent and simultaneously published copious excerpts from a paper Love wrote in 1960 on the overthrow of Iran's Mohammed Mossadegh. It is this paper that Kwitny terms "the best record" of what happened in 1953, and from which he quotes across some fifteen pages of *Endless Enemies*. Kwitny says Love "submitted" the report to Director of Central Intelligence Allen Dulles. He does note that the forty-one-page report was written when Love had a Carnegie Press Fellowship from the Council on Foreign Relations and was taking courses in Princeton's Oriental studies department in preparation for his classic book, *Suez: The Twice-Fought War*. "Though Love never released the paper publicly," states Kwitny, "a copy was obtained from the late Mr. Dulles's papers, which are stored at Princeton University and are not open for public inspection." This makes it look as though Agent Love had turned in a case record to the boss.

In fact, Love wrote the paper for T. Cuyler Young, a professor at Princeton. Written on the first page is "The American Role in the Pahlevi Restoration," and "Persia in Recent Times, OS 538," the name and number of Young's course. Love told me: "In 1965 or 1966 when I went to interview Allen Dulles [then retired]—one of the stupidest men I ever met, the only stupider one was John Foster Dulles—for my book, he asked me about my background in Iran and whether I had ever written anything. I said I had and sent it to him. I hoped it might loosen him up about Suez. He promised he would send it back but never did."

I think Kwitny's use of the word "submit" is inappropriate, particularly as he surmises, wrongly, that Love gave the paper to Dulles in 1960, when the latter was still Director of Central Intelligence. Kwitny read me some definitions of "submit," meaning simply "send or commit for consideration." For me, the word in this case has the aroma of compliant services rendered.

The paper, drawn in large part from Love's experiences as a *Times* reporter in Iran in 1953, is indeed a uniquely excellent account of the coup. Kwitny says it shows that Love "helped direct" the coup while reporting on it for *The Times*. There's no doubt that Love, 28 in 1953 and, as he says, "very green," did things in those days that today would get him shot in some parts of the world on the ground that, witting or not, he was an *objective* agent of imperialism. On August 19, at the climax of the coup, Love got rid of insurgent tanks surrounding the Teheran radio station he was trying to enter to broadcast his story (cable communication had been severed) by suggesting they get off to where the action was, outside Mossadegh's house. As Love says, at the very least this speeded up the coup. Moreover, he was in a position to have blown the story of the U.S. role but failed to because he did not fully understand the significance of what he was seeing, thought he could not get partial conclusions past the *Times* foreign desk and was under direct pressure from U.S. Ambassador Loy Henderson. He did not, as he admits, do well.

No one ever mentions, Love says plaintively, that he was banned permanently from Iran in 1954, on direct orders from the Shah, and that Henderson, in the mid-1950s, circulated a State Department operational memorandum denouncing him as a willing cooperator with communists. Last weekend Love told me: "I've never had a conscious connection with the C.I.A. and had only an unconscious one at the time of Mossadegh, when I didn't even know the C.I.A. existed. I wrote the paper in 1960 because I was embarrassed about my failure to write everything at the time. What depresses me is that John Kelly of *Counterspy* and Kwitny, both of whose objectives I sympathize with, seem bent on blackening my name, and it casts grave doubts on the serious and good stuff I have written."

Love says Kwitny was sloppy and unfair. Kwitny says he never stated Love was in the C.I.A. (in the book this is expressed, "Love has denied that he was ever actually employed by the CIA") and holds that Love reported "falsely to his readers and did nothing [subsequently] to disseminate the truth." Conscious as I am these days of the frailties of reputation, I think Kennett should expand his memoir of the affair and get his story permanently on record.

Smoke and Fire Department

§ *Kulturkampf* at *The New York Times* continues. It did not escape the attention of many that John Corry, egregious cheelah of A.M. Rosenthal's cold war passions, was rushed forward with a second review of the Hiss documentary after a friendly account by Fox Butterfield had appeared in the Sunday *Times* for April 29. This may not be an isolated event. William Honan and Arthur Gelb will no doubt want Corry to be the utility infielder, dealing with all politically suspect documentaries and docudramas. Let Corry do the lot, I say, including promo documentaries about fjord-raised salmon from Norway. It might drive him into early retirement. The cold war continues all the same. Connoisseurs noted Walter Goodman's enthusiastic and lengthy coverage in the May 14 *Times* of Decter's Committee for the Free World coven in Washington.

§ "If I were a real woman, I would never know the ecstasy of being a man being a woman. If I were a woman, I could never experience the joy and pleasure of preparing myself to change roles." Thus does Ed Cottle explain his transvestism in the May 5 issue of *Gay Community News*. This is an exquisite evocation of the dialectic.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISPATCHES.

■ THE PHILIPPINES: Who Killed Aquino?

Nine months have passed since former Senator Benigno Aquino, escorted by six military men, stepped off a China Airlines plane at the Manila airport and was promptly murdered by a single bullet to the head. The case has become Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos's thorniest political problem. Forced last autumn to appoint a five-member independent board of inquiry, Marcos must brace himself for the storm that will surely accompany the release of the board's final report this summer.

The board, headed by former appeals court judge Corazon Agrava, has interviewed more than a hundred witnesses, and each week evidence has emerged further discrediting the army's contention that Aquino was killed by a sole gunman, Rolando Galman, who was killed only seconds after Aquino. Based on what has been revealed in the public hearings, the Agrava board will at least have to conclude that Galman, a professional hit man with seventeen murder and robbery charges on his record (all of which had been mysteriously dismissed), was not positioned correctly to fire the shot that killed Aquino.

Galman, it seems, was the fall guy in a wider conspiracy. Air force Col. Arturo Custodio allegedly led a team of soldiers who picked up Galman four days before the assassination and sequestered him in a hotel near the airport until the morning of Aquino's arrival. A reliable source close to a group of army colonels told "Dispatches" that Galman was instructed to run up to Aquino's left side as the former Senator disembarked but that at the last moment Galman froze. He had to be shoved forward, where he was repeatedly shot—first, according to a witness, by one of Aquino's escorts, then by a group of Aviation Security Command soldiers waiting in a nearby van.

A tape recording made at the time of the assassination by a journalist with the Tokyo Broadcasting System reveals several voices saying, "Here he is, here he is. Let me do it, let me do it. Shoot him, shoot him." When a voice-print analysis of the tape is matched against the recorded testimony of the army escort officers, it should be possible to determine conclusively who said that. But whether the Agrava board will have the political courage to charge the six-man military escort team with murder is another matter.

The board cannot easily blame the military escort officers without implicating people close to the Marcoses. The team was led by Lieut. Jesus Castro, who, according to military sources in Manila, is a personal aide of Brig. Gen. Luther Custodio (not related to Arturo), who was the head of presidential security command intelligence at the time of the assassination. General Custodio reported directly to Chief of Staff Gen. Fabian Ver and was known to belong to a faction of the army that is loyal to Imelda Marcos. In an affidavit submitted to U.S. Representative Stephen Solarz, Jose Fronda Santos, who has sought political asylum in the United States, claims that General Custodio asked him to kill Aquino for a fee.

We have learned from a high-ranking military officer, who says he has firsthand knowledge of the general's activities, that immediately after the Aquino assassination Custodio was preparing to go into exile in Canada. The same officer believes that General Custodio will be sacrificed to the Agrava board but that he will probably not implicate his fellow conspirators.

Whether Gen. Luther Custodio, Col. Arturo Custodio and other officers are indicted may depend on whether any of the military escort soldiers yet to be interviewed by the Agrava board crack. They have strong incentives not to. Earlier this year, Marcos astounded everyone by approving the promotion of air force Sgt. Arnulfo de Mesa, the soldier who held Aquino's left arm as he descended the airplane ramp. Shortly afterward, Marcos was asked why he had promoted de Mesa. Marcos answered simply, "I must protect the army."

Footnote: The Agrava board may soon question Imelda Marcos about her meeting with Aquino in New York City last May. According to former Philippine Senator Salvador Laurel, the First Lady is said to have warned Aquino, "Some of our boys may just kill you, believing that it would make us happy, although we would never order it." The Agrava board might also ask the First Lady about another aspect of the case not reported in the Philippine press. It seems that the Vice Governor of metropolitan Manila, Mel Mathay, was scheduled to greet Aquino on his arrival. But Mathay was suddenly called away from the airport for an urgent meeting with the Governor of the city, Imelda Marcos. Perhaps Mathay's presence on the tarmac would not have prevented the assassination, but the odd circumstance and timing of his absence only fuel speculation about the First Lady's involvement.

■ GREAT BRITAIN: An Elusive Alliance

According to conventional histories of the cold war, Britain became a forward base for U.S. atomic weapons in reaction to the Soviet blockade of Berlin in the spring of 1948. But Duncan Campbell, a British journalist specializing in military and intelligence matters, tells a far different story.

His new book, *The Unsinkable Aircraft Carrier*, says that scarcely a month after the surrender of Japan, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff drew up contingency plans to strike an atomic blow at the Soviet Union. Secure overseas bases were needed, so U.S. Air Force Gen. Carl Spaatz journeyed to London, where a secret agreement was reached to convert five Royal Air Force bases to accommodate planes capable of carrying bombs like the one that destroyed Nagasaki. The agreement was never committed to paper, and no official or committee ever directly approved it.

Strategic Air Command bombers began tours in Europe in June 1947; almost a year later, the American Ambassador asked the British for permission to station three groups of heavy bombers for the duration of the Berlin crisis. Although those bombers would remain on British soil for almost fifteen years, Campbell found that no agreement regu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

KAI BIRD AND MAX HOLLAND

lating the force was signed until almost two years after it had arrived. That so-called Ambassador's Agreement, negotiated by U.S. envoy Lewis Douglas, is still classified.

With the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950, U.S. officials worried about how much control they had ceded. As Air Force Secretary Thomas Finletter wrote in a classified memorandum dug out by Campbell:

> I haven't any real doubt but that the British will come along if we do get engaged in war. But the question is when. . . . I know [them] well enough to know that sometimes they can be very slow; and this strategic countermeasure [the bombers] is something which cannot afford to be held up while the British cabinet is debating about things.

After a November 1950 news conference at which President Harry Truman threatened to use atomic weapons in Korea, the issue became urgent to the British as well. For more than a year, first Clement Attlee, then Winston Churchill strove to work out a definitive agreement. For a long while the American negotiators claimed they could neither legally nor politically curtail the President's right to order the use of U.S. nuclear weapons. Finally, in January 1952, Churchill persuaded Truman to issue a communiqué which stated, "The use of these bases would be a matter for joint decision . . . in light of the circumstances prevailing at the time."

As Campbell points out, that thirty-two-year-old communiqué—which is not a treaty, an agreement or a contract—remains the sole pertinent document governing the American-British atomic alliance.

■ SOVIET UNION: The Ayatollah's Benefactor

Since the Shah of Iran was overthrown in 1979, the ranks of the Iranian Communist Party (Tudeh) and the Iranian Azerbaijan Democratic Party (P.D.A.I.) have been decimated by the mullahs. Without a chance of gaining power and angered by the tactics of their erstwhile Soviet benefactors, lifelong Tudeh and P.D.A.I. members are talking about their forty-year attempt to gain power in Iran. Recently *Le Monde* published a summary of those accounts, throughout which one name, Yuri Andropov, appears prominently.

The future boss at the Kremlin had about 60,000 exiled Iranians to work with in his long campaign to remove the Shah. They had fled to the Soviet Union in three waves: 15,000 after an abortive separatist movement failed in Iranian Azerbaijan in 1947; 20,000 more after Mohammed Mossadegh's fall in August 1953; and the balance after a failed assassination attempt against the Shah in 1959. Andropov's role in mobilizing Tudeh and P.D.A.I. émigrés began in 1958.

As the Soviet Central Committee's man in charge of relations with other Communist Parties, Andropov created a Bulgarian radio station that broadcasted propaganda in several Iranian languages. He also arranged Soviet support for publications such as the Tudeh organ, *Mardom*, and *Azerbaijan Journal*. The latter still publishes.

In 1967, when Andropov became head of the K.G.B., he played a major role in selecting trusted Iranians, such as Nurreddin Kianuri, to serve on the Tudeh Central Committee, guaranteeing a "solid majority connected to the K.G.B.," as one exile put it. The Russians paid a price, however, for their heavy-handedness: Tudeh proved unable to tap the latent nationalist opposition to the Shah.

Undaunted, Andropov kept devising ways to strengthen opposition forces in the late 1960s and early 1970s. But as the U.S.-backed Shah became bolder and stronger militarily, Andropov apparently became more desperate to succeed—even if it meant looking outside the socialist vanguard for a credible opposition leader. Eventually he cut a deal with an obscure religious figure then in exile in Iraq. And that's how a publishing house in Leipzig, East Germany, became the first to publish the inflammatory anti-Shah writings of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

■ SAUDI ARABIA: Costly Verses

The royal family's April 21 dismissal of the Minister of Health has aroused more controversy in the placid kingdom than any event since the takeover of the Grand Mosque in Mecca in 1979.

The official in question, Ghazi al-Qusaybi, comes from a family of traders which had chiefly distinguished itself by helping the ruling Saudi clan survive in the lean years before oil was discovered. Trained as a political scientist at the University of Southern California, he returned to the kingdom and quickly established himself as perhaps the most talented technocrat in Saudi Arabia, negotiating the economic agreements with the United States that more or less determined how the petrodollar would be recycled after oil prices quadrupled in 1974.

But his "beans and vinegar" personality, as one observer described it, inevitably brought al-Qusaybi into conflict with the staggering corruption in Riyadh. Last October al-Qusaybi agreed to take over the Ministry of Health, which has one of the largest budgets ($6 billion) but is without question the most poorly run and corrupt ministry in the government. When al-Qusaybi challenged Prince Sultan, Defense Minister and a full brother of King Fahd, over a defense contract with Spain, he apparently went too far. A close observer of the royal family noted, "He was honest and trying to do something . . . but he was pressing King Fahd too hard. There is only one first family."

Sensing that his job was in jeopardy, al-Qusaybi fashioned some verse after a famous tenth-century lyric reflecting a court poet's disillusionment with his royal employer. When *Al-Jezira*, the capital city's leading newspaper, published the fifty-line work on March 5, King Fahd responded by firing his errant Minister. But the last word remains al-Qusaybi's:

> Bought panegyrics will be recited for you;
> Those hungry praise-mongers are getting ready.
> A pen that can be bought and sold is not the equal
> Of a reed that writes with the blood of an eye.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

LETTERS FROM LIPSKI

Trials of a Polish Resister

JAN JOZEF LIPSKI AND WITOLD JEDLICKI

Of the thirteen leaders of the Polish resistance movement who in 1983 stood accused of high treason in Warsaw—six members of KOR (Committee for Defense of the Workers) and seven of the National Commission of Solidarity—only Jan Jozef Lipski has been in a position to express his views publicly. A founder of KOR, which was set up to support victims of government repression following the 1976 strikes, the 58-year-old Lipski ironically owes this good fortune to complications following open-heart surgery, which prompted Polish authorities to treat him with special care.

I have been corresponding with Lipski for years. Our letters have been sent between Poland and Israel via regular mail, and presumably they are read by Polish censors. Yet Lipski, a literary critic and historian, communicates openly, without circumlocutions or euphemisms. There may be an occasional flash of contempt for the regime he's been fighting for nearly thirty years, but no ideological rhetoric. This style of freely expressing dissenting opinions using one's true name, address and telephone number was tried for the first time beginning in 1976 by Lipski, Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik and the approximately thirty other members of KOR. Paradoxically, it is precisely Lipski's status as defendant charged with high treason that accounts for his freedom from fear: nothing he could write to me could possibly implicate him further.

What follows are excerpts from his letters to me, which he wrote in Polish and has authorized to be published in English translation. The first is dated January 6, 1983, part of a reply to a letter I wrote in the fall of 1981, at the peak of the Solidarity movement. In it he described what had happened to him in the intervening fifteen months. —*W.J.*

Your letter reached me at a very hectic time, after the Congress of Solidarity in Gdansk and before the imposition of martial law. You must have some notion of how things looked then. I was a board member of the Mazowsze regional committee of Solidarity, which meant an endless succession of meetings and consultations. I traveled a lot to various corners of the country—Torun, Bialystok, Przemysl, Gliwice, Lodz, etc.—to lecture or to hold discussion meetings in factories, schools or provincial boards of the union. It was all beyond my strength. In rare moments of respite, all I was capable of was to tumble into bed.

In Solidarity, mine was no longer a big role but rather a medium one. Since I had gained considerable popularity and personal authority during the preceding years, it was practically a matter of my own choice how high in the union (the National Commission level included) I would let myself get elected. Recognizing my limited strength, I opted for no more than a regional board. (Not even its presidium, which operated as the board's executive. Had I entered that body, I would have had to toil like hell, go on the union's payroll and take leave from the Institute of Literary Research.)

The most important thing I did in the "S" [Solidarity] period was to participate in negotiations with the government and the parliamentary commissions over the censorship decree. The situation was rather peculiar: myself, a PEN club member at that, in the role of co-author of a censorship bill! But it seems that I accomplished whatever was possible; and something of that may yet remain. At the Congress of Solidarity I wrote two resolutions, on culture and on national minorities. Along with a section of the union's program dealing with cultural matters, the resolution on culture was conceived of as providing the foundation for the union's policies in this area.

Then there came the night of December 12-13, 1981 [when martial law was imposed]. I avoided being interned that night: I was simply not at home. On December 14, I reported to Ursus [a tractor factory in a suburb of Warsaw], but the strike was defeated there barely ten hours after I arrived. Thus I became a detainee. After ninety-six hours I had a mild heart attack as a result of overcrowding of the premises and lack of fresh air. I was then transferred to the Lindley Street hospital where I stayed several days, but as early as December 24 I found myself in the Mokotow prison, in rather lamentable health. On January 5 I was already on trial, together with four others (but as the main defendant), accused of organizing and leading the strike in Ursus.

After a few days, an expert cardiologist finally prevailed on the court to exempt me from the case and try me later, separately. I remained in Mokotow until May, except for six weeks under observation in the Cardiological Institute of Anin, under guard, of course. To my surprise, the judicial authorities consented to my going to London for a checkup. (These checkups are scheduled every two years: each time I receive a summoning document, which then serves as the basis for applying for a passport.) The passports were handed to me and Maruta [his wife] within a few days. In London, there were lots of examinations, visits, etc.; I also took up work on the book on KOR, which hasn't yet appeared. [The Polish edition of *KOR* has since been published by Aneks in

---

Jan Jozef Lipski is a scholar at the Institute of Literary Research of the Polish Academy of Sciences and was one of the most highly regarded advisers to Solidarity. Witold Jedlicki, who translated Lipski's letters, was a colleague of Lipski's in the Club of the Crooked Circle, an independent, progressive discussion forum active in Warsaw from 1956 until it was banned in 1964. In the early 1960s Jedlicki immigrated to Israel, where he is a researcher specializing in Eastern European affairs.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

London; it will be released in English next year by the University of California Press.] When I learned that Kuron, Michnik and others (who had thus far stayed in the Bialoleka camp prison) had been indicted and that the KOR trial was to be held, I decided to speed up my return.

I arrived on September 15 and found myself in the Mokotow prison the next day, already with two indictments over my head. Since November 22 I've again been hospitalized in the Anin clinic. On December 22 my preventive detention was abrogated, which meant no change other than removal of the guards. In all likelihood I will remain in the hospital for a long time yet. What next, I don't know.

In his next letter, dated March 28, 1983, Lipski explained the relatively considerate treatment he had received from Polish authorities:

We are a fairly humanitarian country: a dissident on a surgical table in London is preferred to his corpse in a prison cell, and to the altogether superfluous noise bound to arise thereby. This is why I believe that even after the conviction, I may be granted leave from prison and a passport in order to let me undergo surgery, if it is necessary.

The letter of March 28 contains a passage referring to the political opinions of a Polish émigré writer whom I had mentioned in a previous letter. That writer favored the Palestinians' right to self-determination, in theory, but argued that in practice, an independent Palestinian state would damage the foreign policy aims of the United States and thus should be prevented. Lipski's reaction:

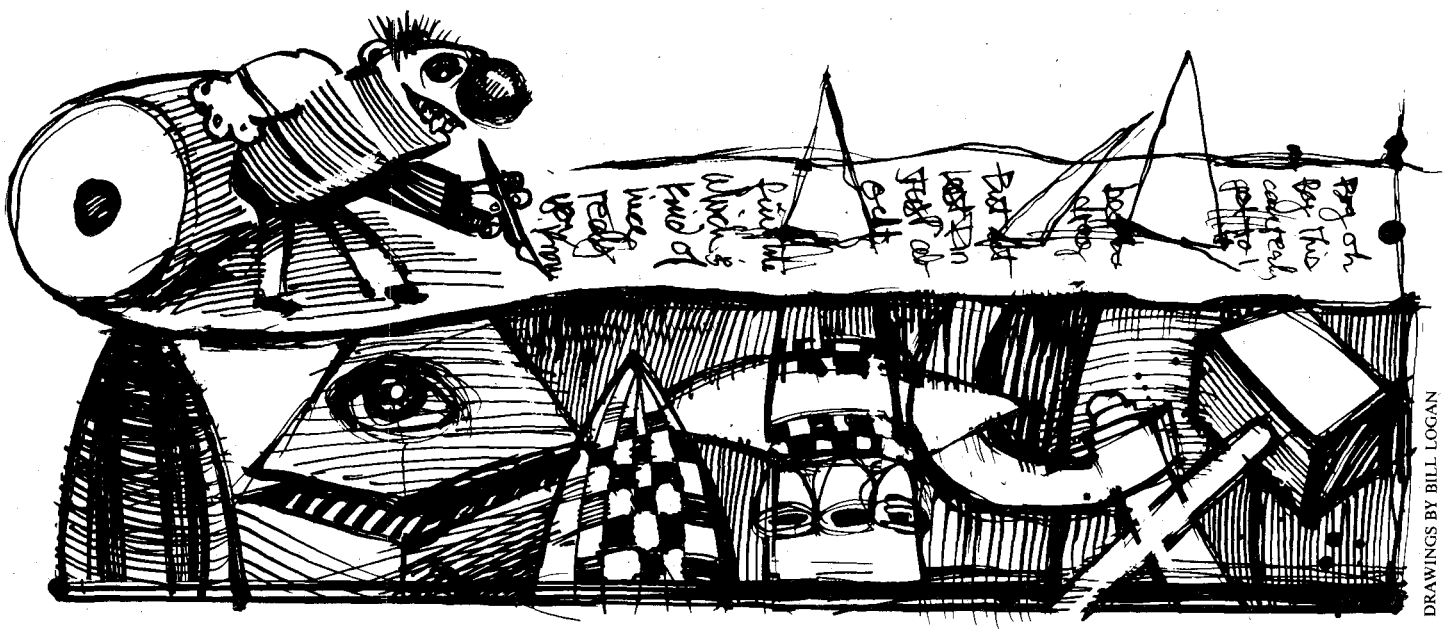
I can say only that I am perfectly familiar with such attitudes. It is astounding indeed that such gentlemen never try to see things reflexively, never apply their standards to themselves. It is a tough problem because in the fire of battle, whoever happens to be our ally can usually count on our evaluative leniency and vice versa. This is why the world is becoming increasingly dichotomous, with the effect that otherwise decent and reasonable people are suddenly no longer capable of understanding that, for instance, a Latin American peasant may wish to stop laboring in serfdom for reasons of his own and not because one superpower tries to trip up another. Likewise, the Palestinians surely have reasons of their own for wishing to live at home rather than in refugee camps. But this dichotomy of the world does more than merely obstruct one's thinking and feeling. Suddenly, it is a knife pressed against your own throat. Then there is no longer any fun; intellect stops functioning; emotions become primitive, morality relative. You yourself know how it was: at first, we just "loved" the Khmer Rouge; later, it was the opposite. The point is that the average Pole's thinking about Cambodia followed the same pattern, only in reverse. (And I sometimes feel I come perilously close to resembling such an "average Pole.") And surely the case is not that of Cambodia alone.

After learning of my involvement in the Israeli movement of protest against the war in Lebanon, Lipski exclaimed in the same letter:

Of course, in this matter I am wholeheartedly with you people. I will no longer be myself if I ever become indifferent to repression of anyone by anyone, anywhere in the world, or to persecution or even mudslinging against those who stand up to oppose the repression of others.

Responding to the anger I expressed about the Israeli generals and my description of the violent clash in February 1983 between Peace Now demonstrators and supporters of the Israeli government, Lipski gave his view of the protests against the Sabra and Shatila massacres:

It is interesting what you write about your generals. In fact, I am not surprised: I have never had an excess of sympathy for that profession. It indeed seems that those generals, for all their competence, haven't been much of a success. In the Lebanese instance, however, something happened that impressed me deeply. As soon as the news of the murders in the camps spread, there was an eruption of protest demonstrations. Moreover, an inquiry commission was formed, which instead of hushing up the affair discussed it



DRAWINGS BY BILL LOGAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather honestly, even if not exhaustively enough, without shying away from pinning down the persons responsible. In any event, this counts.

After receiving the letter of March 28, I asked Lipski to authorize the publication of excerpts from his letters. I explained that Solidarity had been presented by both Soviet and American official sources as essentially a nationalistic and religious aberration, and not as a "real" trade union. Publication of his views, I felt, could help refute the stereotype of Solidarity as a group of cold warriors and reactionaries. Lipski answered, in a letter dated June 13, 1983:

As for your question concerning the publication: of course, do whatever you deem advisable and think will bring good results. Of course, it's clear that there are some who are all too eager to paint us as advocates of dictatorship, as obscurantists, etc. Indeed, they shouldn't be helped.

Still, Lipski is far from a knife-in-the-teeth radical. In his letter of June 13 I detect a warning that there are definite limits to his radicalism (especially in the Western sense of the word) and that I should present his views in a balanced manner. For example, in discussing East-West relations he rejected the idea of unilateral pacifism:

Matters are not that simple. The Western pacifist movement is full of ambivalence, and it sometimes conveys the impression that it opposes some missiles with nuclear warheads while just loving other missiles with nuclear warheads.

Similarly, returning to the subject of Israel, Lipski put forth a conventional defense of the Six-Day War of 1967:

I very well understand how military-patriotic rhetoric can captivate people, especially when blood pours forth. Still, I have an opportunistic question to ask you: Would the present problems exist at all if in 1967 Israel had not had a strong army? Would the people who raise these problems exist at all? Wouldn't things have already gone past their finale? I recognize the changed circumstances. Today I too am much more concerned about the Palestinians than about the Jews, but I wonder if this will always be so. Given this, I would be rather afraid to be left alone with a partner not particularly known for tameness, without the benefit of protection by "our boys" [the Israeli Army], for whom you have nothing but the bitterest sarcasm.

And in the same letter Lipski stressed his own old-fashioned patriotic motivations, in contrast to those of people who work on political issues all over the world:

You cite Joanne Landy [co-director of the New York City-based Campaign for Peace and Democracy/East and West] to show that it is possible to be concerned with the whole of humanity. I agree: she has my full respect and admiration. Nevertheless I suspect that I couldn't muster enough strength to struggle simultaneously for the murdered or persecuted Latin Americans and for the Chinese, in whose defense no one ever speaks, and for the starving sub-Saharan Africans, etc., etc. Besides, the motivation is different when one acts in a country and for a country one is familiar with and has emotional identification with. Let us take Chile, for example. I have never met a Chilean and I know little about that country. I am perfectly willing to sign, to protest, etc., but I would have to be tossed there by a quirk of fate before such rather theoretical solidarity could possibly yield any fruit.

There is quite a lot about Polish affairs in Lipski's letters, most of it replying to my complaint that I find present-day Poland unrecognizable. Before 1962, I had written Lipski, Poland was marked by its diversity; all shades of opinion about Communist authorities and native traditions were represented. But today Polish attitudes appear to be monolithic, virtually everyone professing allegiance to all native traditions in defiance of the hated regime. (I cited as examples the religious cult of the Virgin Mary and the nationalistic cult of Pilsudski, Poland's ruler in the late 1920s and 1930s.) I defined the current consensus as a symptom of a colonial situation, where existing authority is perceived as foreign-imposed and where native traditions serve as a shield against the colonial invader's cultural imperialism. While agreeing that the Polish situation is colonial, Lipski offered some clarifications:

Indeed, around 1956 the Virgin Mary and Pilsudski were not as much in sight as they are today. Yet the overwhelming majority of this Catholic-nationalist mass of people are not overly concerned with my being a nonbeliever or a "Jew lover." This is very much in contrast to a grave concern I would immediately arouse if I suddenly declared that our only salvation was a return to Lenin. Polish native traditions (your term) are in fact quite Janus-faced. They can be very obscurantist indeed; at the same time, every Polish worker and peasant will be genuinely delighted to hear the oft-repeated cliché: "Because the Polish nation with its great tradition of tolerance . . ." I do not claim that this delight means something in 100 percent of the cases, but I think that in 50 percent perhaps it does.

As for Catholicism, odd phenomena can be observed. Its dominant form is rather obscurantist, but that doesn't mean enlightened Catholicism is devoid of a powerful influence.

FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS

This just-published booklet by author William A. Reuben identifies 114 factual errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. This flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40, 50 copies $150, 100 copies $250. Make checks payable to The Nation Institute and send to "Hiss," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Apart from the obscurantist and the enlightened, another variety of Catholicism has appeared. The popular Catholicism, with its mass of mostly young (but occasionally 60-year-old) priests, is remarkably radical. Its nationalism is, to borrow a term from the Marxist jargon, more of a national-liberationist than of an aggressive-ethnocentric nature, and it blends obscurantist and enlightened ingredients.

In order to understand these things, one has to know something that you cannot know: namely, that an entirely new and quite peculiar segment of the working class has come into being here. I refer to the workers of the 20- to 40-year-old group, who have a secondary education, mental traits resembling those typical of the intelligentsia and quite developed needs and aspirations for high culture and high technology. (In this respect, Lech Walesa happens to be rather atypical.) Our dissolved union was primarily a coalition of that segment of workers and the intellectuals, each side understanding the other with amazing ease. That segment of the working class is open-minded, leftist, eager to borrow from the traditions of the Polish Socialist Party; yet those traits do not hinder a great many of them from being religious. It may appear odd from a distance, I suppose.

In all this, nationalist themes have become inextricably blended with social and universalist themes. As a result, an ethos has emerged which is notable for its duality. On the one hand, there is a tremendous understanding for human rights as a cause. On the other hand, an indifference toward things tribal or national would be construed as a threat, especially if it had a function it often has, for instance, in Africa, where universalism or cosmopolitanism of new power elites is nothing more than camouflage for their orienting themselves to their old colonizer. Who of us would want to orient himself to our colonizer?

Lipski provided an update of his personal situation in a letter dated October 10, 1983:

Two weeks ago I appeared before a cardiological commission convened by the chief municipal physician of the City of Warsaw at the military prosecutor's request. The commission ruled that my health condition does not enable me to stand trial. Accordingly, the prosecution of my case was temporarily suspended: I was exempted [from the KOR case] for a separate adjudication of charges against me at a later date. At the same time, my Ursus indictment was dismissed—conditionally dismissed, to be exact, the condition being that I not commit a similar (?!) offense before December 31, 1985. (Recall that I was charged with organizing and leading a factory strike!) Again, therefore, I will have to learn to bide my time. In the meantime, I am no longer pestered by the prosecution or by the judiciary or by the security services; but I am still pestered by *Trybuna Luda* [the chief daily press organ of the Polish Communist Party], which cannot forget my *Two Fatherlands* [a political pamphlet Lipski published in 1981 before the imposition of martial law, which may be one of the most balanced and searching explorations of Polish ethnocentrism—and, notably, Polish anti-Semitism—ever written by a Pole; the

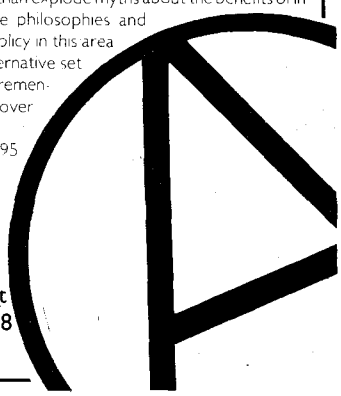
The first in-depth look at the social impact of the new video...

Pushbutton Fantasies

Critical Perspectives on Videotex and Information Technology
by Vincent Mosco

This is a book about fantasies and their transformation. Over the past three decades, social scientists, marketing executives, technology buffs, and futurologists have sung the praises of communication and information technologies. The same cornucopia that brought lightbulbs and Fords now offers computers, communication satellites and 100-channel television. According to the dominant fantasy, combinations of these will offer masses of people the opportunity to learn, shop, bank, work, play, and generally enrich their lives without even leaving the living room.
PUSHBUTTON FANTASIES takes a detailed, critical look at these specific forecasts. The book concentrates on videotex, an outgrowth of cable television that makes use of computers, television, and telephone technology to produce powerful information/communication systems.
PUSHBUTTON FANTASIES does more than explode myths about the benefits of information technology. It challenges the philosophies and theories that have guided research and policy in this area for decades. Moreover it presents an alternative set of critical perspectives that draw on the tremendous growth in social and political theory over the past decade.
240 pages $24.50 (clothbound), $12.95 (paperbound)

Available at your booksellers or order directly from
Ablex Publishing Corporation
355 Chestnut Street
Norwood, NJ 07648
(201) 767-8450



STARRETT CITY
NEW YORK
15TH
NATIONAL NEIGHBORS
CONFERENCE
MAY 31 - JUNE 3, 1984
INTEGRATED NEIGHBORHOODS
KEYNOTE SPEAKERS: CORETTA SCOTT KING • ROGER WILKINS

WORKSHOPS: Corporate Responsibility • Role of Municipalities • Fair Housing • Public Education in an Integrated Environment • Housing Issues of the Single Parent • Impact of Changing Community Upon Senior Citizens • Gentrification • Community Development • Integration: Perceptions and Misconceptions • The Role of Religion in Communities.

PANELS: Integration Maintenance • National Neighbors • Brown vs. Board of Education: 30 Years Later.

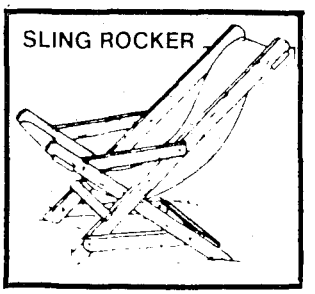
Three day registration fee (including meals)—$85.
Special daily rate (including meals)—$15.

For more information on conference registration and special program, call Starrett City Community Relations Office at (212) 642-2725.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THIS CHAIR IS POLITICALLY CORRECT

- MACUELIZO (tropical white oak) OR MAHOGANY
- ROCKS ON ANY SURFACE
- FOLDS FLAT
- REMOVABLE 100% COTTON DUCK COVER
- COOPERATIVELY PRODUCED IN CENTRAL AMERICA
- SATISFACTION GUARANTEED



Make sure you're sitting on the proper side of the fence: the side of hope, cooperation and grassroots democracy. This chair was made cooperatively in Honduras by members of the **Union Nacional de Campesinos**, a sixty thousand member peasent league working for land reform and democracy. One UNC coop mills the lumber in the field with a two man pit saw and hauls it out by oxcart. The wood is then dried and carefully crafted into chair frames by UNC cooperative "La Popular". Pueblo to People provided training and financed the shop which the UNC now owns and controls.

PUEBLO TO PEOPLE works with other grassroots cooperatives and peasent organizations in Honduras, Nicaragua and Guatemala, providing technical assistance and **non-profit** marketing in the U.S.

TO ORDER: Send $39 plus $6 shipping. Specify canvas color (chocolate, navy or beige), and wood (mahogany or macuelizo).

FREE CATALOG ON REQUEST. Palm leaf hats, hammocks, Guatemalam weaving, baby baskets, coffee, cashews and more.

PHONE OR MAIL YOUR ORDER TODAY! VISA, MC. CHECK ADD $2 FOR C.O.D.

PUEBLO to PEOPLE
5218 CHENEVERT 5512
HOUSTON, TX 77004
(713)523-1197

'WERE THE ROSENBERGS FRAMED?'

This historic debate, which was sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at New York City's Town Hall last October 20th, has been described as "a political-literary brawl" (Los Angeles Times), at which "a cheering, jeering crowd of 1,500 followed every jab in a fight over history" (The Washington Post).

The main participants in the debate were: Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir, authors, Invitation to an Inquest; Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton, authors, and Sol Stern, research assistant, The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth; and Elizabeth Holtzman, moderator. There were also questions and comments from Michael Meeropol, Morton Sobell, Marshall Perlin, James Weinstein, Victor Navasky and others.

A complete record of this extraordinary event can now be purchased in transcript or cassette. Transcripts are available for $24 each; cassettes are $19 each. There are special discounts on orders of five or more. Send check or money order, payable to The Nation, to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (a project of The Nation Institute).

regime has since attacked the "overly secular" character of Lipski's views].

I last heard from Lipski in a letter dated March 1, 1984. Writing from London, where he had gone for a checkup, he said that he was in rather bad health and that his doctors had decided he should undergo a second open-heart operation, next year or in 1986. As usual, I don't know when—or whether—I will hear from Lipski again. □

SOUTH YEMEN

Proxyland for Cold Warriors

FRED HALLIDAY

Aden

"You can live in this country and almost forget that the United States exists." With those curious words, an experienced Western diplomat here summed up the relationship between Washington and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (P.D.R.Y.).

For two years after its independence from Britain in 1967, this tiny country of 1.9 million had diplomatic relations with the United States, but they were broken by Aden in October 1969, when then President Salem Robaye Ali told a mass rally that America, a supporter of Israel and Saudi Arabia, was the P.D.R.Y.'s principal enemy. Since that time there has been little contact between the two countries. Aden is one of a select group of Third World capitals—along with Pyongyang, Hanoi, Phnom Penh and Teheran—that have no U.S. diplomatic presence, official or unaccredited. While South Yemen imports many goods from the West, less than 1 percent come from the United States. Neither side is keen to re-establish official links: each suspects the other's motives, and each gains a slight political advantage at home by keeping things frozen.

Yet remote and cold as relations may be, the two countries are hardly indifferent to each other. The Reagan Administration consistently singles out the P.D.R.Y. as one of a handful of states that support terrorism. Whenever the Pentagon wants to justify arms sales to Saudi Arabia, it points to the danger from South Yemen and to the presence here of Soviet and Cuban military personnel. In the Administration's litany of countries in which the Soviet Union allegedly behaved in an adventurist or illegal manner during the latter half of the 1970s, the P.D.R.Y. always crops up, along with Angola, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. To cold warriors in Washington, it is Proxyland or, better, Proxistan.

The South Yemenis, for their part, have a long list of

Fred Halliday is the author of The Making of the Second World War *(Verso/Schocken) and a lecturer in international relations at the London School of Economics.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

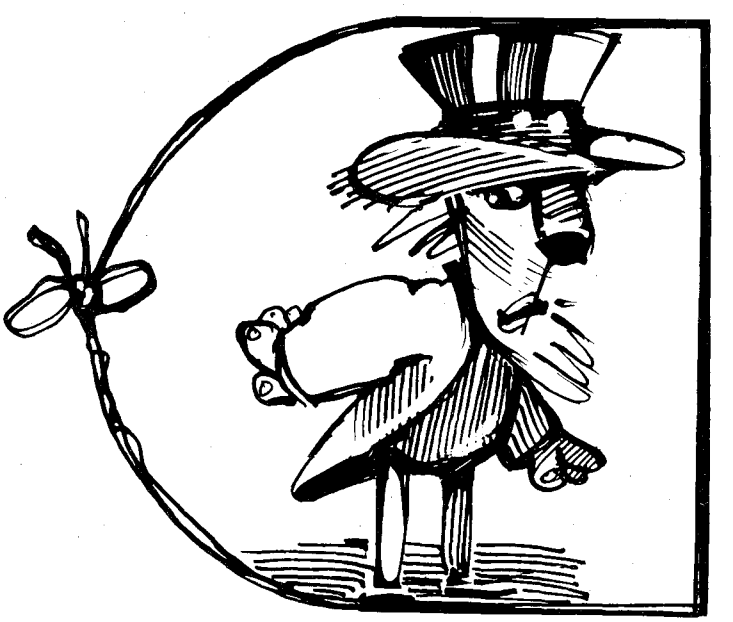
grievances against the United States. When their guerrilla independence movement was developing against the British in the 1960s, they blamed the United States for giving aid, via Saudi Arabia, to royalist tribes who opposed the radical republic in neighboring North Yemen. In March 1968, the postcolonial army attempted a military coup, and the new government summarily expelled U.S. military attaché Dale Perry for his alleged involvement in it. During the October 1973 Arab-Israeli war, South Yemeni and Egyptian forces imposed an unannounced naval blockade on Israeli shipping through Bab el-Mandeb, the strait at the mouth of the Red Sea that touches on South Yemeni territory. A U.S. naval task force was ordered there, and for some months after the blockade had been lifted, Aden complained that U.S. ships and planes were violating its territorial waters.

The most significant incident came in 1979, when the South's forces entered North Yemen in support of revolutionary guerrillas there, and President Carter decided to make a stand against international communism. He not only dispatched some $415 million in emergency military aid to North Yemen; he also sent a task force to cruise along the coast of the two countries. As a number of Arab states, including Syria and Egypt, threatened to bomb Aden if its forces did not withdraw, the United States let it be known privately that it would intervene if the P.D.R.Y. forces continued their advance. South Yemen pulled back, thus avoiding a military confrontation with the United States.

The government here sees a U.S. hand in many of the regional conflicts in which it has been involved. Since 1980 U.S. rapid deployment forces have been conducting exercises in neighboring Oman, and one of the Carter-era "bare bases," a desert airstrip built for the Shah's intervention forces, is at Thamarit, Oman, only 100 miles from the South Yemeni frontier. Like the Israeli lobby in Washington, the South Yemenis become alarmed each time U.S. military supplies are shipped to Saudi Arabia. They give a good deal of credence to the Saudi claim that the weapons will be used against radical Arab nations like themselves, not against Israel. The South Yemenis are also aware that on several occasions the U.S. marines have gone on maneuvers in California's Mojave Desert against a mock foe that bears an uncanny resemblance to the P.D.R.Y.

Two highly publicized espionage trials have underlined Aden's hostility toward the United States. In 1975 the South Yemenis convicted and imprisoned an Arab employee of I.T.T. for collaborating with the Central Intelligence Agency. Seven years later seventeen South Yemenis were arrested, accused of having received training in sabotage from U.S. personnel in Saudi Arabia and executed. The P.D.R.Y. charges that since 1967, Saudi and U.S. agents have instigated South Yemeni exiles to cross the border from Saudi Arabia and harass P.D.R.Y. citizens. Such incidents have occurred less frequently since 1980, but officials in Aden claim that the C.I.A. is behind a two-year-old Sudanese radio station, the Voice of the Free Sons of South Yemen, which beams several hours of hostile propaganda to the P.D.R.Y. each day. And although Saudi Arabia recently sent an ambassador here for the first time since 1977, the South Yemenis allege that the Saudis, with the help of U.S. advisers, have mustered thousands of Yemeni exiles in military camps within the kingdom.

The U.S. counters that South Yemen is a Soviet base and that, in an important sense, the country is controlled by the Russians. Much is made of Soviet military facilities here and of supposed Soviet and Cuban involvement in the 1978 crisis in which President Robaye Ali was ousted and executed after trying to stage a coup against his rivals in the leadership. When one looks more closely at the available facts, however, the picture appears rather different. The Russians and Cubans are training the South Yemeni armed forces, but they do not have the kind of facilities they once had in Egypt and Somalia. Although Soviet ships stop to restock and change crews, there is no Soviet base in the normal sense of the term, and no Soviet combat forces are permanently stationed here. "Use of an airfield and refueling rights for ships" is how one foreign observer summed up the Russians' military presence here.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Allegations of Soviet control over the local political and economic system are even wider of the mark. In the process of ousting Britain, the South Yemenis had a social revolution, and they have followed Soviet models in developing their party system and economy. But the Russians do not have the capacity to control the course of events inside the country. Abdel Fattah Ismail, the leader who emerged from the 1978 power struggle as the Soviet "client," was voted out of office by party chiefs within eighteen months and lives in exile near Moscow.

The P.D.R.Y.'s commitment to provide long-term support to revolutionary movements in the region has created great difficulties for them and has particularly inflamed relations with Washington. The guerrillas the South Yemenis supported in Oman were defeated in 1975, and seven years later Aden established diplomatic relations with the Sultan there. Radical forces in North Yemen met defeat in 1982, and the South Yemenis have recently entered a series of negotiations with the North to normalize relations. Although presented as a pursuit of reunification, anything as far-reaching as that is unlikely given the divergent political complexions of the two states.

Aden remains fairly isolated in the region. Attempts to build lasting links with Iraq have never proved successful. At one point, Aden denounced Baathist leader Saddam Hussein as a "fascist," and the P.D.R.Y. blames both Iran and Iraq for their current Persian Gulf war. But Aden has assumed an active diplomatic role in support of the Palestinian resistance and in opposition to what it sees as Egypt's capitulation in reaching a separate peace with Israel. It is encouraging a compromise among the factions of the Palestine Liberation Organization and plans to host a conference this month that may patch the fragmented group together. Meanwhile, Libya has cut off all economic aid to the P.D.R.Y. because Aden refuses to side with the radical dissidents in the P.L.O. The one firm ally the P.D.R.Y. has found in the area is Ethiopia, whose friendship it earned by sending troops to help Ethiopian and Cuban forces repel an invasion by Somalia from 1977 to 1978. The United States supported the Somalis in that war.

South Yemen and the United States have one thing in common: they were the only British colonies that won independence through a guerrilla war and that remained in conflict with their former colonizers for years afterward. Both waged struggles rooted in a political radicalism that prevented any easy reconciliation with the imperial power. The United States seems to have forgotten its early radicalism. In the Arabian Peninsula of the 1980s, it has taken Britain's place as protector and guarantor of the conservative monarchies.

The Reagan Administration has made one tentative overture to Aden: it granted an export license for two Boeing 737s to be used by the P.D.R.Y.'s civilian airline, al-Yamda. Recently, officials of the two states met privately to see if there was any interest in re-establishing relations. Nothing came of it. It seems Aden can get by quite happily without taking formal notice of the world's strongest power. □

EDUCATORS: USE THE NATION IN YOUR CLASSROOM. SPECIAL LOW RATES. CALL STEPHEN SOULE (212) 242-8400.

Logo America

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

economic complacency. Only by taking risks, allowing the derring-do in us to come forth, can we recover our sense of self-worth. In that view, those who are uncertain about whether they can afford their own homes are just part of a national reawakening. The gamble might fail, or it might work—interest rates, after all, could come down—but whichever way the market responds, their character will have improved through the test.

Unfortunately for the national spirit, at the same time that risk is being distributed democratically, certainty is being limited to the elite. Just as Ronald Reagan has shifted benefits from the poor to the well-off, risk is being shifted away from those who hold power toward those who do not. A bank risks nothing when it grants a variable-rate mortgage. In almost every case, the bank turns around and sells the mortgage to a second lending institution. Even if it doesn't, it can set its charges at a rate consistently higher than what it pays for its own borrowed money, so it never loses. If you can't afford to pay back your loan, the bank repossesses your house and sells it all over again, profiting in the same way off someone else. And you have to pay all the costs the bank incurs in lending the money: an application fee, insurance, lawyers' charges and "points," an exaction the bank tacks on for no reason except that it is in a position to do so.

In America in the 1980s power is the ability to purchase the avoidance of risk. By that definition, America is creating a vast group of powerless people which includes what used to be called the middle class. Fifty years after the greatest crisis in the history of capitalism, just about every aspect of American life is subject to the risks of the unrestricted marketplace. We are thus creating the first purely capitalist society in world history.

Although America has always been capitalist, some of its social institutions used to protect us against the enormous uncertainty inherent in the market. Before the New Deal, the family was one such buffer; with the New Deal, government became another. Today neither seems capable of sheltering us from the logic of profit and loss.

The family, based on love, has always been a foolish institution by capitalist logic. Only a fool would have children, since the cost is so much greater than the (monetary) return. Families that work best are based on the principle

Alan Wolfe is a member of The Nation*'s editorial board. An expanded version of his* The Rise and Fall of the Soviet Threat *will be published soon by South End Press.*

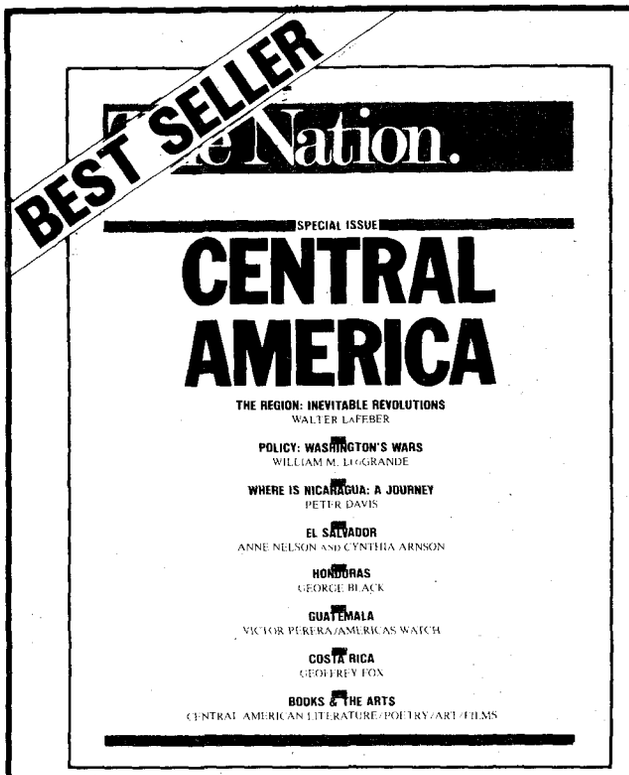
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

described by Lewis Hyde in his book *The Gift*: one contributes not because one expects reciprocity but because there is great joy in contributing. It may astonish us in these cynical times how many families used to work that way. My generation, for example, born during World War II, assumed that our parents would save money for our education. That little supplement did not depend on the Treasury-bill rate, an adequate credit rating, consumer confidence, the exchange value of the dollar or any such variable beloved by *The Wall Street Journal*. No one could calculate the self-confidence I gained from knowing that barring catastrophe, a way would be found to send me to college.

Except on the religious right, the family's decline has gone largely unlamented. On the left it has even been celebrated as a form of liberation. Yet if freedom from the family means enslavement to the interest rate, how much has been gained? To be sure, singles, childless couples and gays (at least in big cities) have been freed from most traditional constraints and can lead the life they choose. Yet those individuals are often conspicuous consumers, establishing fashion trends, pioneering gentrification, proving that even with two incomes there is no limit to the depths of debt. *The Village Voice*, with its leftist political articles sandwiched between advertisements for expensive clothing and fantastically priced real estate, is a barometer. If immediate gratification is liberation, there is something attractive in the oppressions of obligation and sacrifice.

Besides the family, the other major shelter against the tyranny of the market has been the state, which alone can match the power of capital. In a democratic society the state protects individual dignity and social diversity far more than the corporation does: compare the national parks with Disneyland. And because the market works invisibly while government's actions are subject to publicity and popular vote, corporations can interfere in people's lives to an extent that the Internal Revenue Service can only envy. Americans who advocate an end to high taxes and burdensome regulations (in a nation that has lower tax rates and less restrictive government than most others) prepare the way for much more ruthless discipline imposed by the market. Deregulated airlines cut the economic heart out of small cities without a second thought, while government is incapable of shutting down anything. Those who defend the marketplace say it is efficient and demands no messy accountability. But shifting power from the public sector to the private—no matter how invisible it becomes—does not alter how much power is being exercised, only how it is exercised.

We are, in short, citizens of government but subjects of corporations. Against the former we have rights; against the latter we have the choice of which particular companies will treat us as targets. Citizens band together to make life better for all. Subjects seek what is best individually and so lessen the power of everyone. When the market is exalted over government, people are less free. Greater choice and efficiency come, if they come at all, at the expense of rights meant to secure personal dignity.



On January 28 The Nation published this Special Issue on Central America. Now in its second printing, it has been read by more than 250,000 people.

Rarely in our 119 years have we produced a more urgent, important and informative issue. It is ideal for classroom use, for distribution to the membership of your organization or for passing along to friends. Send in the attached coupon for your order today.

Central America Price List

1-9 copies	$3.00 each
10-49 copies	$1.50 each
50-99 copies	$1.00 each
100-499 copies	$ .75 each
500 or more copies	$ .50 each

Prepayment is required (price includes postage).

Send me _____ copies of The Nation Special Issue on Central America. I enclose $_____ payment in full.*

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Phone # _____

* Mail check or money order to Nation Bulk Sales, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (U.S. currency only. N.Y. State residents must add 7 percent sales tax, N.Y. City 8¼ percent).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To discover our future, we are often told, we must look to California. When it comes to divining the consequences of a society based on the ruthlessness of the market, I suggest we consider New York City. Under Mayor Ed Koch and an administration that proudly celebrates greed, a city that once had a reputation as a friend of labor and liberalism—"At this moment New York is the most radical city in America," wrote Walt Whitman in 1852—is leading the way to a world where money, and only money, counts.

It may not rank high on the list of crimes against humanity, but the Koch administration's decision to encourage commercial property owners to double and triple the rents they charge has so significantly transformed the quality of life in Manhattan (and the gentrified neighborhoods in the other boroughs) that the advantages of city life have practically disappeared. The corner merchant has become the ice-cream-and-cookie franchise. Diversity, praised a few years ago by Jane Jacobs as the essence of the urban experience, has no place in a society where the market dictates who can and cannot live in an area. (If the New York City Council passed a law saying that only lawyers, doctors and stockbrokers could live on the Upper West Side, it would be unconstitutional; if the market produces the same result, it is praised as urban revitalization.) When Donald Trump, a voracious real estate developer, and George Steinbrenner, the Yankees' owner who buys and sells ballplayers as if they were personal property, are exalted as tough-minded, unsentimental heroes, is it any wonder that urban life becomes a Hobbesian struggle over who can break the maximum number of laws and get away with the minimum penalty? As Fiorello La Guardia symbolized a New York whose humor was earthy and broad, Ed Koch symbolizes a New York whose humor comes at the expense of others.

Because rent is the price charged for the most personal of needs, it has traditionally been considered one form of profit that should never be left free for maximum exploitation. Now, like airline fares based on what the corporate travel department will pay and not on what individuals can afford, new rents in Manhattan are based on the assumption that tenants are single and earn $100,000 a year. In 1980, at the urging of Citibank, the New York State Legislature dismissed 500 years of the Judeo-Christian heritage with little public notice when it lifted all usury laws and abolished restrictions on the interest rate. In a similar way, the New York real estate market makes it clear to all who must pay that one person's home supports another person's palace.

All this price gouging has created another, generally unnoticed, form of discrimination. A composite portrait of the experience of two friends of mine illustrates the point. Both attended the best graduate schools and wrote sterling dissertations. Charlie has a tenured academic position with a good salary and full benefits, and he lives in a rent-controlled apartment. Sara works at a series of part-time teaching jobs, accumulates no health or retirement benefits, is ineligible for tenure, makes far less money than Charlie (even though she teaches more courses) and pays three times as much rent (even though she lives in a smaller place). What makes my friends' lives so different? Their dates of birth. Charlie, because he is a few years older and started his career that much earlier, enjoys the last few non-market protections against risk that America offered, while Sara can live only for the moment and hope that she never becomes seriously ill.

I am even older than Charlie, so my protection against the market is considerable. As a youth I simply assumed that help would be there when I needed it, that jobs would be plentiful, that low-interest loans to finance my education would be there for the asking (I was even told not to worry about paying them back) and that after a few years in academia, tenure would be automatic. Those who enter adulthood now have paid tuition even where it was once free, have taken student loans at prevailing bank rates, must find apartments that absorb half their take-home pay, cannot accumulate a down payment for property of their own because their rent is so high, are unable to rely on deteriorating public services so must finance alternatives, and are forced to pay a surcharge on every quart of milk they buy so that merchants and restaurant owners can afford their own ridiculous rents. Young people have tenuous job security, and their inflation-cheated parents can offer them little help. Are they better people for having been tested in a way I never was? As far as I can tell, they are like characters in an Ann Beattie story, without much joy and given to self-blame.

No doubt Americans can do with less, and some may even be better off for it. It is not my point to lament the passing of middle-class consumption. My concern is with the social implications of one generation's being forced to pay more because another paid less. (Those straddled with ever-higher variable interest rates are paying for those who obtained lower, fixed-rate mortgages; banks have transferred to today's homeowners their own responsibility to assume the risks of the loans they made in a previous era.) Maximizing risk doesn't build character; it destroys community. When a society decides that trust and solidarity are too expensive, it can never again expect its people to feel mutual obligations, to respect one another or to adhere to standards of decency.

For the past 200 years at least, the maturity and cohesion of a society has been advanced only by protecting certain areas of human conduct from the dictates of profit and loss. (The expansiveness of those areas has varied from one society to another, but until recently no modern nation has been willing to put all its faith in the market.) Thus the imminent triumph of the marketplace in America will bring about one of the most extensive experiments with human subjects in the history of science. No one can foretell the consequences of the vast shift of resources to the private sector. The breakup of A.T.&T.—perhaps the largest corporate gamble in American history—provides a preview. Those in charge have no idea what will happen. The only certainty is that consumers will pay the costs if it proves a disaster. It is one thing to rely on the market when it is small and decentralized and society is growing, and another thing entirely to do so when corporations are ministates and society has matured.

Most of the issues we will be debating during the next few

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

years will be cast in the language of the market, since capitalism will increasingly determine the thoughts we have about the future. We will ponder whether further deregulation can lower prices or whether alternatives to the deteriorating infrastructure can be cost-effective. Such questions are beside the point. I don't doubt that capitalism can be made more "efficient" than government, especially if it can pay lower wages, absolve itself of social responsibility and pass on its costs to consumers. The more compelling questions are social. They involve the kind of future America will face now that it has embarked on a project of reinstituting uncertainty and self-interest in a society characterized by complexity and interdependence.

Certain consequences have already become visible. For example, functions once performed by noncapitalist institutions like the family and the state have been placed under corporate auspices. Big companies subsidize public television, underwrite the Olympic Games, adopt schools in poverty-stricken neighborhoods, pay for academic and scientific research, publish brochures on nutrition and child care, lend executives to charities, assume police and security duties, organize recreational and cultural events, improve neighborhoods and carry out numerous activities that seem to bear little relationship to profit-making. There is self-advertised generosity in such ventures: often, the only price a company will charge for its public service activities is the right to display its logo.

And why should we be concerned about the logoization of America? Once upon a time there was presumed to be something called the public interest, a recognition by society that a sphere of life existed that added to the value of each person's life by contributing to the good of all. A corporate logo, by contrast, makes the opposite statement: it affirms loyalty to the particular, the elevation of a sector of society over the common good. When athletes representing the United States display corporate symbols on their uniforms; when public hospitals strapped for funds give new mothers nursing information that has been provided by manufacturers of infant formula; when public-television programs are preceded by an acknowledgment of the companies that made them possible, the net effect is to remind Americans that the common good no longer exists. America has clearly decided that it just costs too much.

Logoization is only one aspect of a larger issue America will face as it turns toward total reliance on the market. That issue is responsibility. The attraction of the market is not its allegedly greater efficiency, for in terms of the interests of society as a whole, corporate decision-making can be grossly wasteful. Instead, capitalism offers an irresistible solution to the problem of one person's responsibility to another. The degree to which we need concern ourselves with the well-being of others, a problem that has plagued theologians and philosophers for centuries, is solved by capitalism in the neatest possible way: it is ignored. Do unto yourself what is best for you, and you contribute to the greater good of all. After a century of extraordinary growth and expansion, neither of which encourages planning for the consequences of one's actions, Americans came face to face with the reality of limits in the 1970s. By putting their faith in the market in the 1980s, they are announcing their discomfort with the concept of responsibility, conjuring up through illusion what global realities no longer make possible.

Reliance on the market will no doubt fascinate those who celebrate innovation and those who study people's reactions to stress. It will also cause suffering on a scale not seen since the 1930s, as people experience the trauma of learning new roles. There is, however, one difference between the Great Depression and our era. Then, economic catastrophe was attributed to fate; like a dust storm, it could not be alleviated by human intervention. We have learned a great deal in fifty years, particularly that suffering often can be avoided and destiny changed. Capitalism today demonstrates that a people can be made to give up what it took them generations to grasp. The tragedy is not only that people will experience hard times but that they will forget that their collective resistance to the market is the only thing standing between them and fate. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Nation Reprint Mart.

Latin America: A Political Guide.
An invaluable survey of thirty-three Latin American countries by Penny Lernoux, *The Nation*'s award-winning Latin American correspondent.

A Letter to America.
The Nation January Inauguration issue was devoted entirely to E.P. Thompson's compelling essay on the clear and present danger of nuclear war.

Intervention.
Under what conditions, if any, is military (or other) intervention ever justified? An entire issue of *The Nation* on the subject of intervention contains the papers presented at a Conference on Intervention, co-sponsored by *The Nation* and the Columbia University School of International Affairs.

END and the "Peace Offensive."
Warning that the peace movement must not be caught "sleepwalking," E.P. Thompson outlines the dangers of the Soviet "peace offensive," and urges the movement to eschew the seductions of both superpowers. Also included is a lively exchange of letters between Thompson and Norman Solomon, co-author of "Killing Our Own," debating the controversial issues raised by Thompson's brilliant essay.

Empire as a Way of Life.
William Appleman Williams' brilliant analysis of America's life with an empire—and the implications of life without one—was the focus of this special issue that was distributed to the delegates at the 1980 Democratic National Convention.

The Selling of Japan.
From every quarter American business is urged to adopt some feature of Japan's stunningly successful economic model. But is this model applicable to the United States? What are the implications of Japanese solutions to the problems of American business? This issue opens up and expands the "Japan debate," while shattering some of the myths about the Japanese economic system now in circulation.

Feminist Books.
Today, an exciting new feminist scholarship is re-evaluating a host of subjects from sexuality to the history of socialism to coeducation. This special issue offers an up-to-date sampling of recent offerings in a field that is more lively, contradictory and urgent than ever.

Myths of the Middle East.
This special issue of *The Nation* is devoted to breaking the logomachy jam in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by subjecting the emotion-sodden rhetoric that weighs down current thinking to a blast of fresh ideas.

Nuclear Samizdat.
What do Russians think about the nuclear arms race? Two prominent Marxist dissidents, historian Roy A. Medvedev and biologist Zhores A. Medvedev, provide the unofficial viewpoint with a clarity rarely found in the American press.

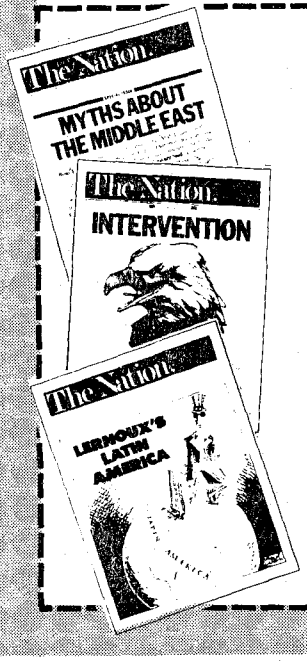
El Salvador.
A compilation of *Nation* articles on Central America and El Salvador, including an early debunking of the famed "White Paper" by James Petras.

Disarmament: Covering the Unthinkable.
In this special issue Richard Pollak takes a critical look at the media coverage of the indisputably most important issue facing mankind; Michael Kazin gives a brief history of the birth of the freeze movement; and David Corn presents a useful directory of organizations working on the disarmament issue.

The New Arms Technology.
From the catapult to particle beam weapons, the engineering of death has concentrated more attention and resources than any other human endeavor. Nine leading experts explore and explain the latest arms technology—both "conventional" and nuclear—and trace the political decisions which have led us closer to Armageddon than ever before.

The Campaign to Smear the Nuclear Freeze Movement.
Frank Donner offers a provocative analysis and thorough documentation of the outrageous attempts by right wingers in media, Congress and the Administration to discredit the nuclear freeze movement, charging that it is inspired and manipulated by the Soviet Union.

Back Issues of The Nation.
Back issues are $3.00 each. This includes postage and handling. (There is limited availability on some back issues.)



THE NATION REPRINT MART ORDER FORM

REPRINTS (each title)	Qty.	Name	Total
1-9: $3.00 ea. 10-49: $1.50 ea. 50-99: $1.00 ea. 100-499: $ .75 ea. 500 or more: $ .50 ea.			
BACK ISSUES $3.00 each		Date	
		Date	

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

N.Y. residents add appropriate sales tax _____

Total Enclosed _____

Mail check or money order to The Nation Reprint Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. **Prepayment is required. (U.S. currency only.)**

NR8420

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Bringing Back Baby

LINDA GORDON

SEX AND DESTINY: The Politics of Human Fertility. *By Germaine Greer. Harper & Row. 541 pp. $19.95.*

Because this book about fertility was written by a woman suffering from infertility it elicited my sympathy even before I opened it. I would not mention Germaine Greer's personal situation had she not reported it herself in *The New York Times* and in several other interviews. And that too—her openness about a painful and stigmatized subject—won my respect. Nevertheless, and despite Greer's opinion, the pain of infertility is *not* biologically determined; instead the meaning and experience of "barrenness" are created by culture, have changed historically and will undoubtedly change further.

Although improved health care in industrial societies has increased fertility in general, the current practice of postponing childbearing ten or twenty years has itself become a cause of infertility. And perhaps this—the knowledge that some infertility results partly from choice, from prolonged singleness or education or work—has worsened the agony of women unable to conceive. Medical intervention can help many such women, but for others the hope for a cure may simply postpone a necessary coming to terms.

It is also possible that the contemporary reaction to infertility has been intensified through its symbolic connection with other anxieties: fears about ecological imbalance; suspicions of the technological society; and feelings of loneliness resulting from the decline of kinship and community ties. But the connections between biological infertility and overall personal, cultural and societal malaise are *only* symbolic. Expressions such as "intellectual fertility" or "artistic sterility" are *only* metaphors. Germaine Greer is entitled to grieve for her own childlessness, and to turn that grief into a bit of contemplative literature to generate understanding of the problem. But she can be criticized for generalizing on the basis of what seems to be her personal response—her anger at the very freedom that led her to postpone childbearing—and presenting it as an objective critique of the ills of sexual and familial life.

Sex and Destiny launches two arguments at once: the first is a criticism of sexual and familial behavior in modern industrial societies; the second is an attack on population control in the Third World. Greer's case against population control is strong, if not new. But her legitimate criticisms are situated in an overall argument that is both antifeminist and condescending toward people who aspire to greater wealth and more independence than they now enjoy. (One is often reminded here of those privileged advice givers who like to tell the poor how morally and culturally superior the simple life is.) In this respect she has placed herself in that long tradition of women writers who have built careers telling other women to be content with domesticity.

Greer charges industrialized societies with having produced child-hating cultures, in contrast to the child-loving values of traditional societies. The examples of child-loving societies come from her visits to and reading about India and Africa, and from her periodic residence in rural Tuscany. She further believes that there is an indestructible human drive for procreation and that attempts to repress it can only be futile and productive of neurosis. Greer argues that in developed societies the attempt to substitute "orgasm for babies," or nonreproductive sexual pleasure for the pleasures of raising children, has impoverished life, particularly for women; human sexuality, she believes, is so essentially an aspect of a larger drive that the separation of sex from reproduction may be destructive. Her book offers up chastity as a preferred form of birth control and affirms the superiority of family bonds, defined primarily as mother-child bonds, to any other human ties.

No doubt the criticisms of "junk sex" and of dangerous and coercive birth control policies have their merits, but they don't constitute evidence for the overall arguments of *Sex and Destiny*, all of which are either historically or ethically wrong. In arguing that ours is a child-hating culture, Greer ignores a large body of historical literature which suggests the opposite: that children used to be treated far more callously than they are today. And whatever criticisms she might level at it, our treatment of children is easily matched by cruelties to children practiced by the simpler societies she admires.

Regarding the drive for fertility, there is no evidence that frustrated longings for children have generally deleterious effects. And Greer makes no case whatever on the dangers of nonreproductive sex. Her nervousness about appearing antisexual makes her argument slippery, but her attitude is clear in passages like these:

> Human libido is the only force which could renew the world. In allowing it to be drawn off, regularly tapped in domestic ritual, we are preparing the scene of our own annihilation, stupefied by myriad petty gratifications, dead to agony and to ecstasy. . . . Having fun means having recreational sex: recreational sex means no fear of pregnancy, a wife who is always available and who is content with orgasms in place of land, family and children—orgasms and consumer durables.

> There is no logic in a conceptual system which holds that orgasm is always and everywhere good for you, that vaginal orgasm is impossible, that no moral opprobrium attaches to expenditure of semen wherever it occurs . . . [since the system also holds that] "normal" heterosexual intercourse should always culminate in ejaculation within the vagina.

Whose norm is this? At a time when feminists and other sexually enlightened people are arguing against such a norm with significant success, Greer writes a book which entirely ignores their efforts. In her chapter on "polymorphous perversity," the missionary position is taken as a given (if women don't enjoy it as much as men, the moral is to have less sex); feminists are criticized for their emphasis on clitoral stimulation; and lesbianism does not exist.

Her critique of commercial society, of the transience of all relationships other than the maternal, resonates with modern insecurity. And her sketches of

Linda Gordon is a professor of history at the University of Massachusetts, Boston. Her books include Woman's Body, Woman's Right: A Social History of Birth Control in America *(Penguin).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the good life, often drawn from images of rural Tuscan families, erases from that landscape all evidence of poverty and drudgery, of women's often brutal oppression and of female longing for adventure, knowledge and power.

Greer's discussion of modern birth control similarly minimizes the importance of women's autonomy. Apart from chastity, her favorite birth control methods are *coitus interruptus* and the use of condoms, because they involve no health hazards. But both devices must be controlled by men, a fact Greer does not discuss. Indeed, nowhere can one find the discussion of the *politics* of reproductive rights which is certainly relevant here. One would assume from reading this book that men's and women's interests in sex and reproduction are always identical, that no one had yet noticed that sexual transactions involve inequities of power, that no one had yet pointed out that women are often forced into sex or conception.

The attack on population control seems at first glance more compelling, but a closer look reveals that here, too, issues of power and inequality are ignored. Greer is right of course to challenge the notion that birth control rather than the redistribution of resources can combat poverty. And her examples of the coerciveness of population control programs are persuasive. But her vision of the Third World as peopled by men and women living in equality and sexual harmony, jointly oppressed by Western norms, is absurdly romantic. She seems not to understand that victims of imperialist oppression can themselves be the perpetrators of sexual cruelty.

The central contribution of *Sex and Destiny* is no more then a New Right perspective on sex and birth control, a profamily line in the name of women's best interests. There is nothing new about this maneuver: Jean Elshtain has been doing it, and it has also crept into Betty Friedan's work. Like Elshtain, Greer appropriates feminist ideas, for example critiques of competitive individualism, and uses them to attack the women's movement.

Greer's social analysis resembles New Right thinking in its method as well. It is moralistic rather than historical. The version of social change offered here is like a young child's notion of history: there were the "old days," secure, simple, satisfying and restful, and there is now. There is no doubt that sexual permissiveness has become a new orthodoxy and a new kind of conformity and that contraception is often coercive and dangerous. It doesn't follow that reattaching sex exclusively to reproduction is the appropriate remedy.

Greer's passion in this book is for fertility, not for actual children—another position similar to that of the New Rightists, who defend the fetus's "right to life" but advocate cutting support for child care, education and child abuse prevention programs. Children figure in this book only as assets which parents have or don't have; there is very little feel for the actual enjoyments of parenthood. On the contrary, the accusation that our culture is child-hating is not a defense of children, but reveals Greer's hostility toward adults:

> Drinking and flirting, the principal expressions of adult festivity, are both inhibited by the presence of children. Eventually our raucousness wakes them and they watch our activities through the stair rails and learn to despise us. . . .
>
> So much adult amusement stems from matters ribald or malicious that even lighthearted conversation is censored for the younger generation.

As if adult conversation in "traditional" society was neither ribald nor malicious!

Greer's value system, to give credit where credit is due, is more consistent than that of the New Right. The New Rightists employ what they call a "fusionist" perspective, uniting traditionalism on "social" issues (such as sex, abortion and women's rights) with a progrowth, big-capital economic policy. Greer is a bit more old-fashioned in her conservatism, romanticizing rural life and condemning commercial as well as feminist values.

It is irritating to read and wearying to review a book so careless and bitter. Still, two aspects of it are provocative: its popularity and its relation to Greer's past work. The positive reception of the book illuminates those areas where New-Right thinking, repressive and pessimistic, has influenced even the liberal gentry. Greer has been a feminist media star noted for her defense of women's sexual and professional achievement. Her arguments in *Sex and Destiny* are patent rejections of her earlier positions. Yet it is hard to avoid noticing a certain political continuity. *The Female Eunuch* articulated the aspirations and frustrations of women who had considerable resources and opportunities in their lives; it had little connection with the aspirations and frustrations of women without money, education or status. Greer formulated her feminist demands in the direction of the individual's right to achievement. Perhaps it is logical that the extreme emphasis on individualism in her earlier stance would eventually produce a conversion experience. But what we need now is not one more wild swing of the pendulum back toward social conservatism but a recognition of the tension between individual freedom and nurturing bonds, a tension by no means always destructive. □

PALE SUN

Pallor of the December sun.
Far and small, on a plane
of water, sails point in three
directions, separate from
each other. One a white cutlass

tall in the low light. And two
squat triangles, blue and yellow.
The weather's strange,
like spring. The water's flat
as a tin floor. A single

song sparrow sounds a note,
but can't be seen—gray in a gray
bush by the path on the sloped
shore. I lean there
against a thick boulder.

Warm light strokes my face.
I see in my mind my face,
flaccid, mournful, old. Well
it will be older. A slim boy
walks by, with a gliding gait.

His shadow crosses mine
on the path. From a strap
on his shoulder hangs a leather
case. What's in it? A weapon?
The three sails, coming about,

enlarge, converging toward
the jetty. Slaps and plops
of the languid tide barely heard;
instead I hear a clear
delicate run of reedy notes.

Walking back around the point
I see the boy seated on a bulkhead,
leather case open beside him,
face raised to the sun.
He's playing his flute.

May Swenson

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Better Read Than Ed

DOUG IRELAND

MAYOR: An Autobiography. *By Edward I. Koch with William Rauch. Simon & Schuster. 364 pp. $17.95.*

DIARIES OF MARIO M. CUOMO: The Campaign for Governor. *By Mario Cuomo. Random House. 484 pp. $19.95.*

Ed Koch is the perfect politician for the age of *People*, and he has tailored this titillating diary of his ego accordingly. The Mayor is a nasty, unforgiving man, and this is, as everyone must know by now, a nasty unforgiving book, full of mean gossipy details that contribute little to an understanding of the political arts (unlike, say, the pungent—and better written—diaries of the late Harold Ickes). No wonder it followed Jane Fonda's exercise book in the number-one spot on the best-seller lists.

Mario Cuomo, on the other hand, is probably one of the most intelligent elected officials in the country, and he is also literate. I doubt that Cuomo's pensive unghosted jottings will ever make the best-seller roster, but I have a suspicion that the book will have a longer life in classrooms than Koch's because it is, somewhere, a tale of a sophisticated man's naïveté in the rough-and-tumble world of media, money and politics. I once observed that Mario Cuomo is the only politician I know who hides behind candor; and indeed there is so much introspection in Cuomo's book that sometimes it is hard to know which of the several questions he is asking himself on any given page is the authentic one.

I suppose I should mention that I spent eight years in the Democratic Party managing campaigns, that I have been with both of these men at close quarters and that my name appears in both books. Other journalists and victims of Koch's literary muggings have pointed out many errors and untruths in this Rocky Horror Show of a book, but there is one particular boldfaced lie which touches on my experience with the Mayor that I find especially revealing.

On page 37 of *Mayor*, Koch describes a meeting at which he sought the endorsement of a group of anti-Vietnam War Democrats which Bella Abzug and I had organized when Koch was first running for Congress. (Abzug, who is the target of this anecdote, ran against Koch for Mayor in 1977.) "I was interviewed by Bella and Douglas Ireland, a journalist friend of hers," recounts Koch, who goes on to say:

> The thrust of their questioning was: What was my position on jets for Israel (which was then very controversial on the radical left)? The radical left position was No jets for Israel. I said, 'I am for doubling whatever President Johnson is for. I don't think we're giving them enough.' That was terrible, terrible, terrible according to Bella.

The only problem with this conversation is that it never happened, and could not have happened: a check with the Congressional Research Service reveals that the issue of jets for Israel did not become a matter of major debate in Congress and in the media until 1969, *after* Koch was elected to the House. This story was among those chosen by *The New York Times Magazine* for publication when it excerpted Koch's book, thus raising his smear to the level of a public issue. After reading *The Times* I telephoned Robert Egan, who was present with Koch at this meeting. Egan, then a Greenwich Village lawyer and friend of Koch's, was later a deputy commissioner in Koch's administration and is now in private practice. He confirmed that no such conversation took place and also agreed with my recollection that the meeting we did have occurred in the fall of 1967 (not 1968, as Koch has it), which makes it especially implausible for the issue of jets for Israel to have come up.

The importance of Koch's fabrication is this: should Abzug ever choose to run for office again, Koch has succeeded (with the help of *The Times*) in affixing to her one of the labels best calculated to turn someone into a political leper: anti-Israel. *The Times* did publish a brief letter from Bella, weeks after they ran the book excerpt, but no one will notice or remember that. Abzug can point to her consistently pro-Israel voting record, including her votes for military aid to Israel during her six years in Congress, but it will be Koch's smear that will be remembered by potential campaign contributors, who no doubt make up a large portion of this book's readership.

This episode in its full-length version also displays another unpleasant aspect of Koch's book: its constant Red-baiting. "I happen to think the Soviet Union is a threat," Koch growls; "Well, that crossed off those two [Abzug and Ireland] because they didn't." There is a lot of that sort of thing in here: he calls the New Democratic Coalition (in New York City, a significant aggregation of middle-class liberal reform Democratic clubs) "radical;" he implies that the outraged black communities' demonstrations at the closing of Harlem's Sydenham Hospital were the work of "the Communist Party, white agitators, and others who might bring guns into the community" (police reports cited in the press said there were a handful of members from the tiny and ineffectual Communist Workers Party on the scene, but to Koch a Red is a Red); he says, "The ADA [Americans for Democratic Action] has become the radical left in the Democratic Party . . . a fringe element" and gives us this juicy paragraph:

> I had always believed that I would be the subject of an attack by the radicals in the Democratic Party and that they would try to deny me reelection. I had known that for several years. It was always that way with me. The radicals don't like me. And they have good reason, because I despise them. By the radicals, I am talking about the Bella Abzugs and the Herman Badillos [the former Puerto Rican Congressman from the Bronx who served as a Deputy Mayor during Koch's first two years in office]. I am talking about the elitists and many of those who are in the reform clubs. They are living in a fantasy world. Most of them are not Communists, although some of them may be. Most of them are just uninformed, totally naïve, unthinking or just dumb. These are the people who have always been my opponents. They want to remake the world.

Koch offers this analysis, which goes on for another page, in an attempt to explain why he sought the Republican Party's endorsement for his 1981 reelection bid.

Koch has always been an apologist for and a servant of power—the little lower-class Jewish kid from Newark

Doug Ireland managed Bella Abzug's first race for Congress in 1970 and her narrowly unsuccessful 1976 Senate campaign. A former Washington columnist for New York *and senior editor of* The Soho News, *he is currently a Fellow of the New York Institute for the Humanities.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Brooklyn, snarling inwardly at the *goyim* as he takes the king's shilling and prates against "elitism." And Koch does know how power works; the best section of *Mayor* is the history of the 1980 New York City transit strike negotiations. Koch is known as a man impatient with numbers, and it is informative to find how little such negotiations have to do with real human needs or budgetary restraints and how much to do with personalities, press relations and the private egos of ambitious public men.

You can search *Mayor* from cover to cover and find hardly a moment in which the Mayor is alone: there is little about the private life of Koch because . . . well, because. Mario Cuomo's diaries, however, reveal a man who craves solitude the way Koch craves publicity.

When I first met Cuomo, then a Queens lawyer in private practice, there was a large portrait of Thomas More on his wall, and More's obsessions with the dimensions of compromise between private morality and the imperatives of power were then and still are the basis of Cuomo's intellectual style. For a man who so prides himself on candor, however, there are a few lapses in this book which suggest that Cuomo is learning how to tell some not-quite-truths. For example, the first sentence of his preface: "The diary entries set out in the pages that follow were originally not intended for publication, nor even to be read except by me." I would only find that a credible statement from a politician if he were dead; happily, Cuomo is very much alive. His frequent trips to Washington and wooing of the national press corps have made him a much-mentioned possibility for the 1984 Democratic Vice-Presidential nomination or even for the Big One in 1988, should Cuomo's political ally Fritz Mondale prove as flaccid in November as he is in May. It is a statement that is also belied by the fact that he has already published another book, his *Forest Hills Diary*, which chronicles his mediation of a controversy over integrated low- and middle-income housing in the Borough of Queens in 1972.

Cuomo, a former St. John's University law professor, came to prominence when Mayor John Lindsay appointed him to mediate that Forest Hills dispute. In 1973 there was a mini-campaign to make Cuomo Mayor that was organized by Jimmy Breslin, Pete Hamill, Jack Newfield and myself, and by Cuomo's old friend and law partner, the late Peter Dwyer. We ran it out of Cuomo's law offices. Thus, Cuomo is fudging when he says that his abortive 1974 race for Lieutenant Governor of New York State was his "first" political campaign. (Dear old Pete Dwyer is reduced to a footnote, no doubt because after his death, as Cuomo notes, Dwyer's name came up in an allegation of cash campaign contributions to Cuomo's 1977 mayoral race that, although never proved, could still be embarrassing for a Cuomo with national ambitions. I wouldn't have put it past the devoted Dwyer to have taken the money and used it for "street work"—I probably would have done the same thing in my pre-Watergate campaign managing days—and I can even see Pete protecting Cuomo from knowledge of such sordid business; but, given their old closeness, I might have thought a more forthright acknowledgement of Dwyer's important role in launching Mario's political career a little more honest and fitting.)

Both Koch and Cuomo dissemble on another issue: their sometime relationships to certain Democratic bosses. Koch says he left Carmine DeSapio's club after tentatively joining it because nobody would talk to him; but I remember Carmine once telling me that Ed left because DeSapio wouldn't instantly give him a nomination for public office. Similarly, Cuomo pretends to have had an arm's length relationship with Meade Esposito, the gravel-voiced Brooklyn Democratic leader, recently retired. Yet I remember well how, after the indictment of Queens District Attorney Thomas Mackell, Cuomo sought Esposito's help in getting his friend Nelson Rockefeller to name Cuomo Special Prosecutor to clean up the Queens D.A.'s office. Esposito told Cuomo at the time: "I won't help you get this job, Mario, because you're a white-collar guinea and the first thing you'd do would be to indict *me*!" (At least, that's the way I heard it from Esposito.) Cuomo's relationship with Esposito chilled only after he screwed Cuomo at the 1974 Democratic State Convention in Buffalo and tried to give the Lieutenant Governor slot on the ticket to Erie County Congressman John LaFalce.

These are minor flaws compared with the lies and half-truths on almost every other page of Koch's book, and they might not seem so important were it not for the role Cuomo has staked out for himself, were it not for the fact that he has made the struggle to preserve certain values the heart of his book and his credo:

> I've fought a thousand fights but not enough the good fight. I've been in the race but too often running in the wrong direction. I've not—truly enough—kept the faith. I've hurt people by bad example, even my own family. I have too often permitted people to know what I believed was

OCTOBER

Summer, goodbye.
The days grow shorter.
Cranes walk the fairway now
In careless order.

They step so gradually
Toward the distant green
They might be brushstrokes
Animating a screen.

Mists canopy
The water hazard;
Nearby, a little flag
Lifts, brave but frazzled.

Under sad clouds
Two white-capped golfers
Stand looking off, dreamy and strange,
Like young girls in Balthus.

Donald Justice

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

right and then witnessed my own violation of my own truth. That is the truth and it is part of the pain in my chest.

The most serious weasling in this otherwise veridical account of the political education of a governor concerns the question of homosexuality and Mayor Koch, whom Cuomo refers to as "a kind of male 'Evita.'" Cuomo and Koch have an understandable hatred of each other: they have been opponents twice, in the 1977 mayoral election, which Koch won, and in the 1982 race for Governor, which Cuomo won. In the November 7, 1977, *Village Voice*, Geoffrey Stokes revealed that Cuomo's mayoral campaign manager and his Brooklyn campaign coordinator had hired private detectives to investigate Koch, trying to discover evidence of homosexual activity. Cuomo, the moralist, should have disciplined and dismissed his managers for such shameful Nixonian plotting. He didn't. Flyers and posters with the slogan "Vote for Cuomo, Not the Homo" appeared around the city. Cuomo staffers tried to float a spiked wire-service story about an alleged arrest of Koch in a dispute with a male hustler (a story killed by the Associated Press because it was unprovable). Cuomo himself repeated that story to me in front of a half-dozen people at lunch during the campaign—it was the thing that cooled our previously warm relationship. Cuomo has always claimed that the "Vote for Cuomo, Not the Homo" material was produced by David Garth to *win* votes for Ed Koch—an assertion I have found counter to all likelihood and political reasoning.

Cuomo reduces the incident to a one-line footnote: "In 1977 I was accused of using an emphasis on 'family' as an indirect way of condemning homosexuality and forcing the issue into the campaign." Now, I was present at a Cuomo press conference at the height of the campaign where the dominant issue was the question of gay rights, and Cuomo may not think so but that's exactly what he did. Here is what Mario said on a Channel 13 debate with Koch that year apropos of the gay civil rights bill before the New York City Council (a bill still not passed thirteen years after its introduction): "I have repeatedly, before every gay group—particularly the gay group that endorsed *you* and condemned *me*—made the point that I am opposed to proselytization," which in 1977, thanks to Anita Bryant, was a code word signifying opposition to school teachers who happened to be homosexual. Since becoming governor Cuomo has made some positive steps toward altering his posture: he has appointed a number of open gays to government, including recently a member of the state Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, just when the homophobic Mayor of Buffalo has begun raids on that city's gay bars. He has issued an executive order partially banning discrimination in state hiring (though not by state contractors) on the basis of sexual orientation. But I'm not surprised that what Koch remembers all too well, Cuomo chooses to forget: it is not a happy chapter in the life of our philosopher governor.

There are many moments of grace and beauty in Cuomo's diaries: his reflections on his family, on his immigrant origins, on social responsibility to the poor, on his religion (he is, of course, a devout Roman Catholic and one of the New York Church's lay princes). Cuomo can write as well as any man in public life:

> The rains come suddenly out of the gray sky grown black. Ginger (our dog, a mutt, like me) scampers back up against the house under the eave to shelter herself. I feel the rain on my arms and legs and look up, eyes closed, to feel it on my face. Ginger doesn't think of it as good, only as uncomfortable or dangerous. I can see the black sky and know that it is the color of sustenance for the whole world we live in now. I think of the wonder of rain that destroys with floods but also feeds the soil and the people who till it. I think again of the diminishment of death that ends the symphony of experiences, feelings, emotions, acts that make up life, but only to open the way to a new and fuller existence. . . . What we see as an ugly flaw or scar in our existence—the death too soon, the pain undeserved, the disappointment, the failure, the shame, the rejection—becomes part of the overall sculpture of our existence. I think of how our existence is molded around the flaw, shaped by it, formed by it, made more beautiful by it, at least for those who learn to see . . . to see clearly, as they notice they are losing the power to identify shapes moving across the street from the porch and the huge oak.

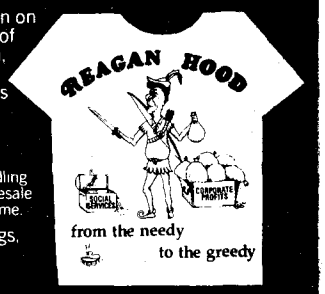
Cuomo at his complex best may be the most interesting specimen the mainstream (white) American political system can produce at this moment in history. His opposition to the death penalty con-

Reagan Hood T-Shirt

5 color design on white t-shirt of 100% cotton, U.S. made. All adult sizes available: s, m, lg, xl.

$7.95 each postage & handling included. Wholesale inquiries welcome.

Banners, Flags, Sweatshirts, T-Shirts

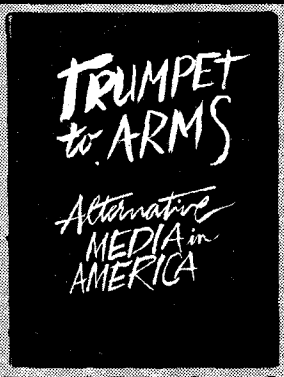


Please send check or money order to:
Libre Silk Screen Printing Inc.
82 Wall St., Suite 1105, New York, NY 10005
(212) 509-2611

Join The Nation Associates, a group of loyal and committed *Nation* readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $20 or more. Membership includes participation in a variety of Associates activities and a subscription to "The Nation Associate," a newsletter that tells you what's going on behind the scenes at *The Nation*.

For further information write or call Claudine Bacher, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8400. Make checks payable to The Nation Associates.

SOUTH END PRESS



TRUMPET TO ARMS
Alternative Media in America
David Armstrong

The first popular history of alternative media in the U.S., this book covers 200 years of activist publications from Tom Paine's *Common Sense* to *I.F. Stone's Weekly* to *Mother Jones*. Armstrong also includes insider's accounts of the underground press, feminist media, listener-sponsored radio, independent film and video, and cable TV.

To order, send $9.00 plus $1.25 postage and handling to South End Press, 302 Columbus Ave., Boston MA 02116. Ask for a free catalog.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trasts starkly with Koch's obsession with the electric chair. It wouldn't disturb me to see Cuomo on the national Democratic ticket in either slot. His diaries are, in large measure, an appealing book from an appealing man. Yes, Cuomo has fudged in his book—he used to cheat me when we played *amore* too—but I would trust him never to make a rash decision that would put us in the nuclear ashtray should he wind up in the White House. And Matilda Cuomo would make the best First Lady since Eleanor Roosevelt. □

THEATER.

PAUL BERMAN

Sunday in the Park with George

A few minutes into *Sunday in the Park with George*, you get the impression that Stephen Sondheim and James Lapine have created a masterpiece. Pointillist painter Georges Seurat studies the suburban park by the Seine, and gradually his famous painting "A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte" takes shape across the stage—not just cleverly but magisterially. Trees slide into place; top-hatted gentlemen stroll to their appointed spots; parasols, dogs, boats in the distance, move into position. Actors fall into Seurat's poses arm-in-arm with life-size cutouts, the way realistic-looking women dance with punctuation marks or cardboard flats in drawings by Saul Steinberg—and you can't help noticing that here is a marvelously witty commentary on what is real, what is representation. The scene is a park, a painting, a joke, a play. It's also an extremely shrewd way of showing creative work from the artist's point of view. You almost feel that you are the artist. Seurat's muscular sense of composition, his endless discipline, his inventiveness, the feeling of victory over nature that any great work ultimately confers—all that begins to seem yours. You exult in it. The effect is breathtaking.

Musically, too, *Sunday in the Park with George* begins impressively, though not in a way likely to please audiences expecting Broadway songs. The melodies, if they can be called that, are spare and austere. The pacing and rhythm contain as many silences as notes. But then the drums get going with the piano or synthesizer, or else rhythmic arpeggios come bubbling up from the woodwinds, and the staccato of notes and silences turns machinelike. The effect is a musical version of Seurat's Pointillism. Just as the painter builds his composition with myriad speckles of color, so the score builds with myriad rhythmic figures, reaching considerable intensity. And as the orchestra pulses in this manner, and as George paints, singing out, "Red!" "Blue!" or calling, "Order! Design! Tension! Balance! Composition!" and as the set gradually assumes the gigantic form of the painting, and of the park, and of art in the making, *Sunday in the Park with George* begins to soar. It is a rhapsody to art, to painting, to rhythm, color, light.

If only that were all! But the play also has lyrics, plot, ideas about art and society, and when those elements start trooping through the gallery, the time for serious viewing is over. The lyrics are exceptionally troublesome. Sondheim has a penchant for rhyme chains—coalition/exhibition/composition; link/link/drink—that seem more like word games than dialogue or poetry. The lines turn into jingles and succeed only in flattening whatever is interesting and unpredictable in the musical rhythms underneath. The plot is no better. In Act I, George frustrates his girlfriend and model, Dot(!), who takes off for America with Louis (or Louie) the Baker. In Act II the artist's great-grandson attempts to put the old painting to artistic use by means of a techno-fantastic light show, only to grow disgusted with the bourgeois art world in which he lives. Get rid of these ridiculous stories, you want to say; show us the painting. The romance between George and Dot is especially annoying. Dot appears to have no mind or ability of her own and lives only to bask in the artist's sunshine, for which she's grateful, no less.

Next, the ideas on art and society march across the stage, proclaiming their single theme: avant-garde artists are superior to everyone else. Look, and bow your head. Avant-gardians are individualistic, principled, visionary, inspired, perhaps hard to get along with, but divine. The rest of the world is white bread at best, more likely covered with mold. George's artistic rival, the rear-guard successful painter, is a backstabbing hypocrite. The modern-day museum director hucksters for real estate. Even decent, hardworking, honest, likeable people who happen not to be artists, for instance Louie the Baker, can hardly endure comparison with an exemplar of the avant-garde. As Dot says in a song, the world is divided between the Georges and the Louies, and though the Louies might think of their own work as art and though their characters may be fine, really there's not much to recommend them. The Louies might as well drown themselves in the Seine.

We might ask, What did the real-life Seurat think about such questions? Sondheim and Lapine make a nod or two in this direction but they never lay his ideas out; indeed, they couldn't, since his ideas were the opposite of their own. Seurat's milieu was dominated by anarchism, more properly, anarchist communism, the philosophy of Peter Kropotkin. Seurat, Signac, Camille Pissarro, Lucien Pissarro—all were anarchists, and Seurat in particular is said to have admired the Russian anarchist's writings. People who looked up to the author of *The Conquest of Bread* weren't prone to look down at people named Louie the Baker. On the contrary, the anarchist painters regarded themselves as part of the workers' movement. Kropotkin told artists they must choose sides in the social struggle, and they chose. (He said it in *An Appeal to the Young*, which was addressed to 18- and 20-year-olds and came out in the Paris press in 1880, when Seurat was 21.) The anarchist painters put their art at the service of the revolution, not by doing agitprop or by submitting to some left-wing authority, which was against anarchist principles, but simply by finding in anarchism certain keys to their own most serious work.

You can see the anarchism in their paintings, even in a painting like "A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte." Anarchism told those artists to get away from bourgeois or aristocratic themes and paint the workers and peasants. Thus Seurat chose to paint boys swimming, the circus, popular musicians, a working-class park like La Grande Jatte—the entertainments of the masses. At the same time, anarchist artists wanted to show what Meyer Schapiro calls "the dream of a harmonious society," and that too you can see in Seurat's famous painting.

Anarchism also had something to say about technique. Kropotkin's central doctrine pictured science and revolution as brothers. Science was sweeping away the religions and superstitions that previously held the masses down. It was laying the technological foundation for a libertarian communist society, a socie-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ty with wealth enough for everyone and no need for authoritarian control. The thing for artists to do, then, was to embrace science, not oppose it, to celebrate rationalism and precision instead of mysticism and impulse. Mysticism was for Impressionists; science was for Neo-Impressionists. And was there ever a more scientific notion of art than Seurat's "divisionism," with its theories of color and light? In fact, everything about Seurat's work, his technique, his interest in proletarian themes, his attraction to the idea of a harmonious society, his notion of placing such a society in a working-class park—What was that but Kropotkinism on canvas?

Of Kropotkinism on stage, there is barely a trace, and of course it's not necessary for Sondheim and Lapine to bother with such things if they don't want to. But even without a bearded, bald Russian revolutionary prince running around the set, it's easy to see what's offensive in Sondheim and Lapine's social ideas. Put your finger in the air and the cold draft of snobbism rushes past. The rhapsody to art turns out to be a rhapsody of self-congratulation. West Broadway looks down its nose at Broadway, and at every other street. We enjoy the satiric jabs at Texas art collecting and MOMA condos and some other worthy candidates for deflation, but somehow in the great class struggle that Sondheim and Lapine sketch out—the struggle between the Georges and the Louies—it becomes hard to think of ourselves as still figuring among the Georges. We are Louies, we commoners of the audience, and naught remains for us but to leave the theater and march straight for the Seine.

Having played Che, Julius Rosenberg and Seurat, Mandy Patinkin is now the Paul Muni of our time. He has a lovely speaking voice and also a sweet Irish (why not?) tenor, which makes him particularly effective in tender moments. Bernadette Peters does equally well as Dot. She walks upstage, and suddenly you understand what people saw in those enormous bustles ladies used to wear. In their duets, in their gestures to one another, these two actors bring the romance of artist and model to greater life than the lines they speak can ever do. But this only reminds us that musically and visually, as light show, as commentary on a painting, *Sunday in the Park* is every bit as masterful and innovative as it is, in other respects, relentlessly clichéd. □

THE DEADLY CONNECTION

Nuclear War and U.S. Intervention

edited by Joe Gerson

"...seminal...for a new wave in the peace movement which will follow on the freeze wave." —Randall Forsberg

"...a prime concern for those who want to avert nuclear war..." —Noam Chomsky

Contributors include: Randall Forsberg, Daniel Ellsberg, Noam Chomsky, Charito Planas, Jack O'Dell, Phillip Berryman, Ngo Vinh Long.

(128 pp) $3.00 plus 75¢ postage.

Write to: **AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE**
2161 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02140

Listen to me...

YOU'LL ENJOY hours of entertainment and enlightenment on cassettes taped from my radio programs that have amused, amazed, delighted, and sometimes even shocked my audiences. Wide range of subjects. Write or phone for my FREE catalog.

• Esoteric Music • Political Issues • Just People • Jewish History • The Holocaust • Natural History • and lots more.

Also available: Engineering and dubbing service—and "Your Life On Tape."

BARBARA LONDIN, 1365 York Ave., NY 10021
(212) 734-6057

Dear Barbara: Please send your catalog to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State ____ Zip ____

The "deal with the devil" that saved 60,000 Jews from the Holocaust.

In 1933, the Jewish leadership in Palestine faced a desperate dilemma: whether to trade the lives of Germany's Jews by ending a world-wide Jewish-led boycott of German goods. An agonizing choice, because the boycott could lead to the economic collapse of Hitler's Third Reich.

Edwin Black draws on hitherto-suppressed archives and reveals the dramatic details of these heart-rending negotiations. He exposes the conflicts that shattered the Jewish community then—and are still being debated today.

It may be history's ultimate irony that what was seen as a deal with the devil became a cornerstone in the foundation of the modern state of Israel.

"These things have been hinted at before; now they have been exposed."—Abraham Peck, American Jewish Archives

"Captures the passion, veracity, exultation and, yes, naiveté of that moment in history." —Morris Frommer, author of *The American Jewish Congress*

"A spellbinding, exciting book." —Dr. Sybil Milton, Simon Wiesenthal Center

THE TRANSFER AGREEMENT
By EDWIN BLACK

MACMILLAN 448 pages / $19.95

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS.

1984 AND THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FASCISM

Featuring: FRED DUBE, PHILLIP BERRIGAN, SAUL LANDAU'S FILM **QUEST FOR POWER.**

SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 11 AM to 5 PM

Beacon Theater
74th Street and Broadway
New York City

Admission: $15.

For more information, call The New York Institute for Social Therapy and Research, (212) 505-0170.

ROSENBERG DEBATE UPDATE

The historic debate, "Were the Rosenbergs Framed?" sponsored by *The Nation* and *The New Republic* at Town Hall on October 20, can now be purchased in typed transcript ($24) and/or tape cassette ($19). Special discounts are available on orders of five or more. Send check or money order payable to The Nation to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (A project of the Nation Institute.)

THE UNITED NATIONS: ITS PERCEPTION AND REALITY

A dialogue sponsored by the
HUMANIST SOCIETY OF METROPOLITAN NEW YORK,
a chapter of the
American Humanist Association

Guest Speaker: YASUSHI AKASHI,
Under Secretary General of the
United Nations

Presiding: PROF. RICHARD FALK
Center of International Studies, Princeton University

MONDAY, JUNE 25

New York University Club
123 West 43rd Street
New York City

6:30 pm Dinner and Reception, $19
8 pm Dialogue only, $5

Please send your name, address, phone and affiliation with your check payable to: Humanist Society of Metropolitan NY, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017. Reservations limited. For information, call Jesse Gordon, (212) 687-2477.

GOT AN EVENT? SPREAD THE WORD!

You can reach over 200,000 politically aware, culturally active people around the country each week by advertising in the Events column of The Nation. At $35 per column inch, that's pennies per thousand readers!

We can include your own camera-ready copy, or simply send us your rough copy and we'll set it for you, at no extra charge. We accept phone-in copy, too, at (212) 242-8400.

If you run your ad for 3 weeks, we'll give you a 4th week FREE!

The Nation Events column: for your money, it's the best way to spread the word!

DANCE.

MINDY ALOFF

From time to time, Merce Cunningham will take to the stage in street clothes to talk about "Dance and the Camera," as he did at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on April 19. From his choreography—the most refined and alert I know of by a living American—it's difficult to predict the tone of his voice. I always expect him to be intense and theoretical, but he always turns out to be gently detached and pragmatic. His intention seems to be only to set forth how things are with him, not to persuade. Although he's standing still and speaking softly, without so much as a hand gesture, one watches with interest, then greater interest, lifts one's head to listen, then leans forward. Gradually, he lights on small points in a way that illuminates one's experience of the theater in general. He is, of course, a star.

The hour and a half at the Met included a screening of *Coast Zone*, which Cunningham made with members of his company and filmmaker Charles Atlas in 1983, and the choreographer spoke about his ongoing experiments with film, which date back to 1974, and his interest in dancing on film, which goes back to the Fred Astaire movies of his boyhood. He explained how differently one must proceed to achieve the same effect (a sense of deep space or fleeting entrances) on film or video and on stage, and how the theatrical choreographer's basic tools, such as repetition, may be the first things a film choreographer must abandon. Cunningham is perhaps the greatest linguist in our performing arts. He can think "in theater" or "in film" as people adept in languages can think in Spanish or in French. This ability to submit to a given medium is so dazzling that one is tempted to limit the way one considers his work to the specifics of his technique—how many trios in this dance, how many close-ups in that video. And yet it is Cunningham who wrote, in his book *Changes: Notes on Choreography*:

> The sense of human emotion that a dance can give is governed by familiarity with the language, and the elements that act with the language; here those would be music, costume, space together with which the dance happens. Joy, love, fear, anger, humor all can be "made clear" by images familiar to our eyes. And all are grand or meager depending on the eye of the beholder.

He is talking, that is, about subject matter.

What he says has universal application. For no matter what the style or the period, in great dances—those that stay with you—the real subject matter is never the story, if there is a story. It is instead the underlying dynamic of the dance action, and the only word that comes close to describing that force is "emotion." Sometimes the dance emotion underlines the literary one, sometimes it subverts it. Experienced narrative choreographers are always playing on the possibilities of this relationship.

Nor is the dance emotion a matter of a single gesture or pose that can be caught in a still photograph or captured in a verbal phrase. It is, rather, the continuity of the action over time, a pattern of rhythm and emphasis that creates a context for the dramatically heightened moments that give the rhythm significance. We carry off those moments, those images, as tokens of a larger experience we can neither hold nor fully name. Where there is no narrative, as with Cunningham's dances, we're forced to remain awake to all the nuances of the dancing—many of them contradictory—even as it melts away. Sometimes Cunningham will seem to delight in making a piece, *Coast Zone* for instance, that slips by quickly; other times, he will shape rhythm so that certain images—especially images in which men and women interact—are pointed up, delayed and made memorable, as in the recent hit, *Quartet.*

One of the first vital signs you might want to check when pondering the content of Cunningham's dances is how fast the pulse is. If it seems comparatively slow, as in *Pictures* (given its world premiere during the Cunningham company's annual season at City Center in March), is it because the dancers actually move slowly at a constant rate, or because their movement is periodically suspended? In *Pictures*, it's the latter. What activity takes place during the periods of suspension? In *Pictures*, it is the methodical assembly of several individuals into connected shapes. Is there any special recurring quality to the movement? In *Pictures*, one is sensitized to the points of connection among the figures and between a given figure and her base of support—the soles of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the feet, the palms of the hands.

You might also notice, as Tobi Tobias wrote in *New York*, that the dance opens with the senior members of Cunningham's company and, after waves of fresh entrances, concludes with Cunningham himself, center stage, delicately supporting one of his newest female company members athwart his body, like a musical instrument or a cross. The somber colors of Mark Lancaster's costumes and the soothing indolence of David Behrman's score (*Interspecies Smalltalk*) contribute to the atmosphere of meditation and delay. Lancaster's lighting, which converts the dancers periodically into silhouettes, emphasizes the connectedness of the groupings. Suspension, connection, deliberation, overlapping generations, delicacy, an enigmatic tool. No one of these ideas "explains" *Pictures*, but together, joined in curious ways by a master, they constitute an exquisite public chapter of civilized inner life. The fact that the choreographer speaks with such eloquence is no reason to ignore what the man is saying. □

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation*.

For information, write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 242-8400.

Spring Ahead To This Year's

SUMMER READING ISSUE

Cover date June 23
On sale June 16
Closing May 30

For advertising information call Carole Kraemer (212) 242-8400

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

APARTMENTS AVAILABLE

GREENWICH VILLAGE. Charming one-bedroom apartment available July 28 through August 13, $600. Call (212) 675-0511.

APARTMENT EXCHANGE

PERFECT FOR METICULOUS WRITER: A country/city dwelling exchange. Owner of secluded house on the river with mountain view, two hours up the Hudson on Amtrak, wants to exchange it for city apartment (Upper West Side preferred) two or three nights every two weeks. Flexible. References please. Write Nation Box 12.

ASSOCIATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

WOULD YOU LIKE to be more closely involved with America's oldest weekly journal of opinion? Join The Nation Associates, and participate in a variety of activities with dedicated readers like yourself. See The Nation Associates ad in this issue.

BOOKS

LET ME DIE BEFORE I WAKE
By Derek Humphry (author of Jean's Way)
Guide to self-deliverance for the dying.
128 pp. $11 (incls. shipping)
Hemlock Society
P.O. Box 66218
Los Angeles, CA 90066

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

HOW TO EARN MONEY AS A CONSULTANT. Self-management systems recently adopted by major consultancies and C.I.A. Information $1 (refundable). Business Psychology International, Box 235-37, Boston, MA 02159.

EDUCATION

LEARN 10 LANGUAGES a year while striding for exercise. 200 Language Club, Box 1727, Beverly Hills, CA 90213.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST PUZZLES

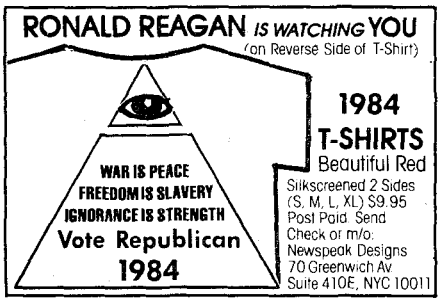
Brain-teasers by Frank W. Lewis, collected in book #4. Send $4 ppd. to E.S. Lewis, 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021
212-895-7005, 516-466-4642

MERCHANDISE

"NO MORE! No Vietnam War in Central America!" The background of this poster, a military coffin and the inscription "No More" originated during the Vietnam War and was widely circulated. Now the well-known artist Sam Wiener, angered by the Reagan Administration's war efforts in Central America, has forcefully expressed his outrage by splashing a fiery-red protest over the original. The posters, measuring 24½ by 19½ inches, are printed in three colors on high-gloss paper. They are available for $4 each, plus $1 for postage. (Orders of 5 or more are available for $3 per poster plus postage. Please inquire for special discounts on large quantity bulk orders.) Make checks payable to The Nation, and send to: The Nation, "No More," 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.



PERSONALS

SOPHISTICATED SCANDINAVIANS, all ages, seek enlightened correspondence, lasting relationships. Details: SCANNA-N, Box 4, Pittsford, NY 14534.

UNATTACHED? Meet aware, literate singles. Lowest fee. Call DATELINE—free: 800-451-3245.

ORIENTAL WOMEN wish to correspond with Americans. Cherry Blossoms, Box 1021NA, Honokaa, HI 96727.

SINGLE PROFILE NEXUS creates a nationwide network of cultured singles. Box 19983, Orlando, FL 32814.

WARM, ENTHUSIASTIC, intelligent, affectionate, attractive, professional, Jewish male, Ethical Culturalist-Secular Humanist, strong left-wing sympathies, intense esthetic interests, canoeing, bicycling, hiking, seeks similar female 21-31 for long-term relationship. Write Nation Box 31.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

DIRECTOR of prisoners' rights organization: managing office, fund raising, writing grant proposals and directing volunteers. $11,000/year for thirty hour week. Starts June 15. Deadline May 25. Lewisburg Prison Project, Box 128, Lewisburg, PA 17837.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

REPORTER: Pacifica Radio News, Washington, D.C. News gathering/production. Features, interviews, special projects, live events, training. Must have one year broadcast journalism experience, some production skills, knowledge of current issues.
APPLY BY JUNE 15: Marie Ritzo, Pacifica Radio News, 425 13th Street, N.W., #334, Washington, DC 20004. NO PHONE CALLS. EOE.

PART-TIME EDITOR wanted for Mobilization for Survival quarterly magazine. Responsibilities: article solicitation, all phases of production, promotion, advertising, work with editorial committee. Requirements: experience in journalistic writing, newsletter production, resourcefulness, a familiarity with peace issues and a sense of humor. Local organizing experience helpful. Commitment to disarmament, ending intervention, safe energy, economic justice essential. Salary is $125/week plus health insurance. Resume and cover letter to Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, NY 10003.

GRAPHIC ARTIST. Orange Blossom Press, a 6-member socialist/feminist cooperative union printshop in Cleveland, Ohio, seeks working art director. Design and execute newsletters, brochures, posters, political pieces, etc. Applicant should be a creative genius, whiz at typesetting and pasteup, familiar with Compugraphic EditWriters, and not confuse Cleveland with Siberia.

Pay is $10/hr., less to start if your experience is less than what we need. Medical insurance, 4 wks. vacation, otherwise kickass, plenty overtime.

Submit resume, cover letter, and work samples by June 1. Minority and women applicants are especially sought.

ORANGE BLOSSOM PRESS
1935 W. 25th St.
Cleveland, Ohio 44113
(216) 781-8655

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

DUE TO RECENT RESTRUCTURE, The Pacifica Foundation announces the availability of the Chief Executive position. Executive fiscal planning and administrative experience required. Send resume to: Pacifica Foundation, 5316 Venice Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90019. Salary range: $30,000 to $35,000 plus benefits. Deadline: July 15, 1984.

POSITIONS DESIRED

NATION INTERN seeks evening work proofreading, typing, etc. Call Richard Greenberg at (212) 242-8400, days.

EXPERT TRANSLATION. French, German, English. Reasonable rates. Call (212) 249-5767.

PUBLICATIONS

FREE 61-page pamphlet, "Capitalism and Unemployment," with $4 for one-year subscription to biweekly socialist newspaper. The People (N), 914 Industrial Ave., Palo Alto, CA 94303.

THE ROSENBERG DEBATE TAPES. The historic debate, "Were the Rosenbergs Framed?" sponsored by The Nation and The New Republic at Town Hall on October 20, can now be purchased in typed transcript and/or cassette tape form. Complete transcripts are available for $24 each; tape cassettes are $19 each. Special discounts are available on orders of five or more. Send check or mail order payable to The Nation to: "Rosenbergs," The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. If you'd like more information, call Mr. Monaco at (212) 242-8400. (A project of The Nation Institute.)

"FOOTNOTE ON AN HISTORIC CASE: IN RE ALGER HISS." This just-published booklet by author William A. Reuben identifies 114 factual errors in the Federal District Court of New York's 1982 decision upholding Hiss's conviction for perjury in 1950. This flawed decision, upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1983, stands as the last legal word on one of the most celebrated cases in modern history. 1 copy $5, 10 copies $40, 50 copies $150, 100 copies $250. Make checks payable to The Nation Institute and send to "Hiss," The Nation Institute, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $1 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

SMALL TOWN, the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, $30. PO Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, 100-page Historic Preservation Resourcebook. Special prices for bulk orders.

RECIPES

DELICIOUS—12 unusual recipes from Cookee's Cozy Kitchen, Volume 1. Low-cost dishes that make expensive-tasting meals! Send $1.50 to Cookee Klein, Box 604, New York, NY 10040.

RELIGION

UNSAVED DEAD—hope for them? FREE 80-page color book. Bible Standard (NA), Chester Springs, PA 19425.

JESUS FICTIONAL—NEVER EXISTED! Scholarly booklet proves Flavius Josephus created Jesus, Gospels. $4—Vector, Box 6215-A, Bellevue, WA 98008.

SUMMER READING

ATTENTION BOOKSELLERS: THIS SPACE FOR SALE!

The June 23 issue of **The Nation** will be devoted to Summer Books, encompassing not only those "fat books" that one doesn't usually get around to reading until summer but reviews of major spring titles as well.

The copy deadline for Classifieds is May 30th. Our rates remain embarrassingly low: 80¢ per word for a regular Classified message and $35 per column inch for a Display Classified. In addition, if you order insertions in 3 issues, we give you a 4th insertion FREE!

So if you want to give your book sales a shot in the arm without shooting your advertising budget in the foot, place a Classified in our June 23 Summer Books issue. Can you afford not to?

SUMMER RENTALS

SAG HARBOR. Charming whaling captain's cottage available July 28 to August 18 for $1,500. Write Box 1432, Sag Harbor, NY 11963, or call (516) 725-0257 Thursday-Sunday.

VACATION WORKSHOPS

DISCOVER THE EXCITEMENT OF BERKSHIRE FORUM WEEKEND VACATION WORKSHOPS

Enjoy exhilarating leisure and sumptuous country meals at a comfortable lodge in beautiful surroundings combined with the stimulation of expertly led discussions on controversial issues. May 25 to 28 (Memorial Day weekend): Jehane Dylian Reuther and Eric Reuther discuss and dramatize use of the arts, especially theater, in labor organizing and they critique the film Silkwood. Phone (518) 733-5497 or write Berkshire Forum, RD 1, Stephentown, NY 12168.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.80 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $35/column inch. Copy deadline 17 days prior to issue date. **Payment must accompany order.**

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for three insertions of your ad, and we will print a fourth insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ATTENTION GETTERS!

The Nation Classifieds are just that. Over 210,000 creative, involved and interested people read and respond to our Classified section each week. And our prices are incredibly reasonable. So if you want to get people's attention, fill out the coupon opposite this page and mail it in *today*!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2009

R	A	V	I	S	H	M	E	N	T	■	M	A	K	E
O	■	E	■	P	■	A	■	E	■	A	■	N	■	A
C	U	R	T	A	I	N	■	A	L	L	U	D	E	S
K	■	G	■	H	■	Y	■	R	■	L	■	R	■	Y
■	F	I	N	I	S	H	E	S	■	C	O	O	K	S
B	■	N	■	■	■	A	■	■	■	L	■	L	■	T
L	I	G	H	T	■	N	E	W	D	E	A	L	E	R
A	■	■	■	H	■	D	■	A	■	A	■	■	■	E
C	U	T	L	A	S	S	E	S	■	R	A	T	H	E
K	■	O	■	L	■	■	■	H	■	■	■	I	■	T
S	P	O	I	L	■	T	H	E	B	R	O	T	H	■
H	■	M	■	I	■	H	■	D	■	O	■	A	■	W
E	R	A	S	U	R	E	■	O	R	L	A	N	D	O
E	■	N	■	M	■	S	■	U	■	F	■	I	■	R
P	A	Y	S	■	G	E	T	T	H	E	S	A	C	K

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

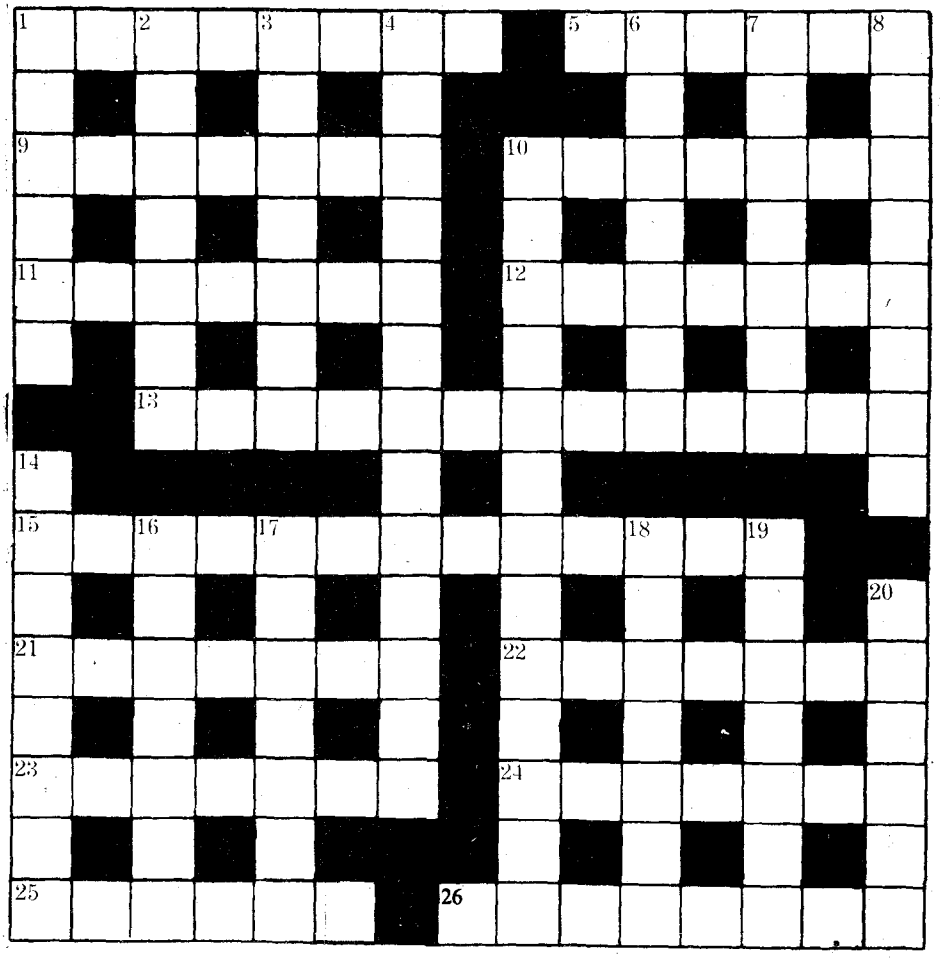
Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

LOCAL ONE GAMA LITHOGRAPHERS X-523

Crossword Puzzle No. 2010

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A parent's little quarrels imply you'd be going to the dogs to see them. (8)
5 Ten thousand years in Japan. (6)
9 Somebody's spirit, or just a lonesome somebody? (7)
10 A sign of repetition, employing the plunging into liquid. (7)
11 With disturbed sleep, it might convey a message. (7)
12 This island is certainly not for a summer month's return. (7)
13 Josephine was asked to come in mine. (6,7)
15 When given men storm out of it, that's no way to run the country! (13)
21 Leaves in a reputedly dangerous condition? (7)
22 One vessel holds the military equivalent of the Shore Patrol—providing the toast of the party, perhaps! (7)
23 One country in another—it really is easy! (7)
24 *Finish* all but a few farthest away. (7)
25 Quite a province for the mess she's in! (6)
26 The moony type might also do this—look at Garbo, for example. (8)

DOWN

1 Make a bossy noise, left—as they say—tied up. (6)
2 Star-bearer, like a female warrior? (7)
3 With a broken line, try to make it, but not actively. (7)
4 and 10 down Suggests some body could hold three sets of court players. (It usually has a *spirited* following.) (7,3,2,1,4,4,5)
6 The solution is watery. (7)
7 He protested in Switzerland. (7)
8 Such people are not thankful for where the coal might be found. (8)
10 See 4
14 With one of your parents on board, shows too much affection, as they might say. (8)
16 Settle down, but certainly not with the regular team. (7)
17 They participated in many a trek. (7)
18 A little old French money takes the wrong road in South America. (7)
19 Farinaceous food is the sort of a topic a reader needs to edit. (7)
20 One example of how the cattle are standing in Oklahoma. (6)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

PUZZLED?

No more cross words. If you don't see why "Lures" are "Ground Rules," send for those of Mr. Lewis to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alexander Cockburn on the PRESS.
Andrew Kopkind on the CULTURE WARS.
Penny Lernoux on LATIN AMERICA.
Stephen F. Cohen on the SOVIET UNION.
Mindy Aloff on DANCE.
Christopher Hitchens on WASHINGTON.
Bird and Holland on GLOBAL POLITICS.
Calvin Trillin on UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

The voices of dissent speak out in THE NATION.

The Reagan Administration is not funny; what it's doing to the country, and the world, is very serious. The voices of dissent must speak out. And the best place to hear them is in *The Nation*.

The Nation has been questioning the abuses of power for 119 years. And there has never been a greater need for it than now. *The Nation* conducts its own investigations, reports the kind of news Jeane Kirkpatrick and Jerry Falwell don't release through the national wire services, and serves as the forum for the leading voices of dissent on the critical issues of our time.

If you think these voices are important, join your voice to theirs and subscribe to *The Nation*. There's a reduced introductory rate for you. And as a gift for friends, too.

Add your voice to ours.

Special Introductory Rate for New Subscribers.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a savings of 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

- ☐ Double my savings. Send a full year for $28.
- ☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
- ☐ Please bill me later.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Add: Canada and Mexico: $3.50/24 issues, $7/one year; Other Foreign: $6.50/24 issues, $13/one year. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8420

SEND THE NATION TO A FRIEND!
(And save $3.)

Please send 24 issues of *The Nation* to the following people at the special gift rate of just $15 for the first and $12 for each additional gift. And send a card announcing the subscription(s).

GIFT TO

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

GIFT TO

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

☐ Enclosed is $____ for ____ subscription(s). (Extend each subscription FOUR FREE ISSUES.)

☐ Bill me later.

D8420

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED